A STUDY OF ORIYA FOLK BALLADS

Shyamsundar Mohapatra



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Dedicated

to

Srimati and Sri Antaryami Behera

for their love and affection

and support

to

my

academic pursuits.

Author

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FOREWORD

Visva-Bharati has a sound tradition of folkloristics. Poet Tagore himself was a great lover of folklore. During the fifties and sixties when Professor K. B. Dash worked here, he created great interest in the subject among his students and scholars. It is heartening that now Dr. Mohapatra has taken up the task to enrich that tradition in the department.

Out of folk-sayings, tales and songs, the three principal branches of folk-literature, Dr. Mohapatra chose ballads of which Orissa has a rich heritage. While working on Oriya folk-ballads for his doctoral thesis, he was mostly pre-occupied with their intrinsic values taking due note of modern theorisers like V. Propp and Levi-Strauss. In the process of his study he has attempted at bringing about a synthesis between literary and structural methodologies which indicates originality of his approach.

Dr. Mohapatra falls into that category of scholars 'who receive into them the world around; brood thereon, give it the new arrangement of their own and utter it again.' Let me expect still more valued contributions from him to Indian folkloristics. With this I commend the work to the scholars and lovers of folklore.

N. Misra
Professor of Oriya
Visva-Bharati

Santiniketan
June 14, 1988

PREFACE

Orissan villages, although in the process of rapid urbanisation, retain an atmosphere congenial to flourishing of folk-literature. It was more so decades back. Folksongs, tales, riddles, proverbs and plays among other genres, were a life-force to the folk, imparting light and delight. To me the folk festivities were a glamour, the songs a charm and tales the magic food physically transporting one to dream lands in the days of my childhood. Ballads had a special appeal of their own. The plight of the cow Baulā promise-bound to return to a tiger after feeding her calf and pangs of king Govinda candra who is to leave his queens and mother for a life of asceticism sung by the 'Yogi' (Nāth yogi) of Orissa in accompaniment with a hurdygurdy were tearsoaked. It was mainly the story-part in the ballads which fascinated me most. But as years passed by and I looked back at them with a some what trained outlook as a student of literature, they rather baffled me unfolding a spectrum of varied colours.

Folklore is still a neglected subject in Orissan Universities though the study was initiated in Orissa almost a century back by an English administrator, John Beams. But when I joined the Visva-Bharati University in 1971, I observed it with interest that Folklore had already been introduced there as a special paper in M. A. curriculum and some eminent scholars had already worked on some aspects of Orissan Folk-literature. This beckoned me to enter the field and take up a subject, which was less explored, for study. Another consideration of choosing the subject was to develop a seed material already worked upon by Dr. N. Misra, my guide, in a paper presented to All India Folklore conference on Oriya ballads in the year 1964.

In course of my study when I found it difficult to keep my determination steady to carry on, I had the opportunity to discuss on the subject with Dr. K. B. Dash, the eminent folklorist of Orissa. His encouragement and help I remember with gratitude. I am also grateful to Dr. Bhabagrahi Mishra who

worked for quite some time at the Indiana University (U. S. A.) for his valuable suggestions in giving a structural basis to my work.

Sri Sankar Sengupta, the editor, Folklore, Calcutta, has published the sections on Similies and metaphors, Art of narration and Structural analysis (paradigmatic) in his esteemed magazine. The section on folk-ballads in old Oriya epics was published in the Visva-Bharati journal of research and the 'Flora and Fauna' in Orissa Review. I am thankful to the editors and the readers who encouraged me through their words of appreciation.

I owe special thanks to my colleagues and several batches of P. G. students with whom I had dialogues in seminars while presenting papers on the related field. I owe a deep sense of gratitude to Professor K. Mohapatra who shows keen interest in the development of the discipline since he joined the department as its head and made it convenient to go through the pages of the present work making valuable suggestions. I am thankful to the Visva-Bharati authorities for taking up this work for publication. I also offer sincere thanks to the staff of the Research publication department, Visva-Bharati, particularly to Dr Subrata Chakraborti and Sri Satindra Bhaumik for their co-operation and the personal interest they took in its publication.

Lastly let me spare some thanks also to my wife who lent her loving eyes to my studies when my eyes needed treatment and rest and bore the lonely hours at home when I was hunting in Libraries and chasing in the fields which has become a passion and hope will be a passion with me for years to come.

This is just the beginning of my efforts in bringing out a detailed study on the subject. When discerning opinions, if not on merits but on short comings of this study, are available and my continued effort in field study helps me in accumulating more materials, I hope it will be possible on my part to make it more useful.

Author

INTRODUCTION

Definition

Folk-ballads have some universal characteristics. It is rightly observed, 'Though each national balladry has its distinctive characteristics, certain constants hold for all bonafide specimens' (Friedman, 1965). Such constants are : focuss on a single crucial episode or situation, rapid narration in a hurried, summary fashion ; the dramatic element, impersonality, the plain and formulaic language, division into stanzas. repetition, etc (Friedman, 1965). Some critics emphasize the lyrical aspect, 'It is not a narrative poem only ; it is a narrative poem lyrical in form, or a lyrical poem with a narrative body in it' (Ker, 1966). And because the emphasis is on a single line of action precipitously developed, there is not time in ballad for careful delineation of character or for extensive research into psychological motivation (Friedman, 1965).

The story in fact is the 'key thing in a ballad, all other artistic possiblities are subordinated to it' (Friedman, 1966).

As the ballad was once associated with dancing, the dramatic element still predominates in this form of poetry. It is said, in a ballad 'we are not told about things happening ; we are shown them happening' (Friedman, 1965). In other words, we may call it an oral drama. The dramatic element has its own appeal to the listener and hence it has its predominance in later balladry when ballad is separated from dancing.

On the other hand, the case of stanzaic division is different. The stanzas had their meaning when the ballad was danced out as in the case of Pindaric ode. But to the listener it does not matter whether the ballad is divided into stanzas or not (Child, 1882). It is sufficient for him if the story is narrated as a coherent whole. Hence we may not always find stanzaic divisions in later ballads.

W. P. Ker emphasizes the form, 'Nothing shall be taken up by ballad except what is fit for the ballad form" (Ker, 1966). What is implied by Prof. Ker's 'form' is obviously the ballad

convention. The same idea has been shared by modern theorists who proclaim, 'The work of an individual does not become a ballad until it is accepted by the folk and remodelled by the ballad conventions in the course of its tour in tradition' (Friedman, 1965). Hence the folk are not only passive listeners of a ballad but participate in its shaping.

With these observations in view the ballads on which the present study is based, have been selected. A comprehensive bibliography of those has been provided in Appendix I.

Collection of Ballads

Collection of ballads is a modern phenomenon. '... it was nationalism which actually brought attention back on the customs, songs and tales of the people' (Goswami, 1970) Collection of folklore was first made in India by Western scholars like George Grierson and others in the later half of the 19th century. In the field of ballad collection, those collected by Dr. Dineshchandra Sen and Chandra Kānta De from the district of Mymenshingh of Bengal deserve special mention.

It was John Beams, a British administrator posted at Balasore, who first collected Orissan folklore and his articles 'Folklore of Orissa' was published in *Indian Antiquary* in 1872 A. D. Kapileswar Nanda Śarmā collected folklore in 1876 A. D. under the patronage of T. E. Ravenshaw, the then commissioner of Orissa. They were followed by Nilmani Bidyā Ratna, Munsi Seikh Abdul Mazid, Rāghabānanda Dās, Aparnā Pandā, Gopāl Chandra Praharāj and others who published their collections in the early part of the twentieth century. But the collections included mainly proverbs, nursery rhymes and tales. Ballads from oral sources came to light only with the publications of folklore-collections of Chakradhar Mahāpātra (1959) and Dr. K. B. Dās (1954). They have collected ballads along with other forms of folk-literature.

In collection of ballads, the role of publishers cannot be ruled out. The religious ballads connected with vows and fasts, etc. are still available due to their interest. Some such ballads have been printed by different publishers from old palm-leaf manuscripts.

Sāralā Dāsa of the 15th century, the poet of Sāralā Mahābhārata, is, however, regarded as the first collector of Oriya folk-ballads for incorporating a number of them in his popular epic (Misra, 1965). Some of them have also been included for the present study.

Field Methods Adopted

Success in collection of folklore depends upon the field methods adopted. The best results may be expected when the collector goes to the field himself. Sometimes assistants are employed. In that case they must be properly trained. It is better if the collector knows the language of the folk concerned. He should be able to create an impression of being one among them (Misra, 1973).

Richard Dorson, in discussing the standards for collecting American folk-tales, considers three alrernatives for an ideal folklore collector ; Money, Art, Truth. Acccrding to him, Truth is to be kept as the primary goal (Misra, 1973).

Sri Chakradhar Mahāpātra collected folklore after he came in contact with Debendra Satyārthi, the eminent Indian folklorist who visited Orissa in 1933 (Mahāpātra, 1959). He collected a few hundred of folk songs from his own mother who was endowed with a superb memory power. His wife assisted him in collecting materials from the female folk. He travelled widely, met several organizations and some times declared prizes to create interest among villagers, which was responded (Mahāpātra, 1959).

Dr. K. B Dās has widely travelled Orissa both in its coastal and hilly regions. He convened assemblies of folk-singers with the help of influential local persons, which was not much rewarding (Das, 1958). He made strenuous efforts to collect folklore directly from the people. By individual efforts he made quite a laudable collection. However, discontented with his own achievement, he sought the help of Government machinery. He sent elaborate instructions to thousands of school teachers through their higher officials to help his collection. But the school teachers, not properly trained for the task, made a lot of anomaly.

Dr. Dās had to make careful scrutiny to ensure that the materials collected were genuine folk-lore (Das, 1958). The ballads incorporated in his volumes are, ofcourse, still heard in rural Orissa and some of them have been tape-recorded during field work for the present study.

Both of the folklorists Mahāpātra and Dās have mentioned the names of places where the ballads were collected. But the names of singers are lacking. Omission of names of singers is considered beneficial in a way. In this connection we may take note of the practice followed by Verrier Elwin, ... he deliberately refrained from giving the names of the tellers not because he wished to ignore them but 'to include them would suggest that the stories were known to or were even the property of individuals' (Misra, 1973).

Earlier Studies of Oriya Ballads

No major work has yet been devoted to the study of Oriya ballads exclusively. Besides a chapter written by Dr. K. B. Dās in his thesis on Orissan folklore (Das, 1958), there are a few stray articles published here and there. Dr. Dās has discussed in an introductory way some individual ballad-types. He has treated, in some detail, their socio-religious background. For him, the theme is most important. He has brought out the significance of the theme in each case. In some cases he has compared those with similar ballads found in other parts of our country. Being the pioneer scholar in the field of collection and also study of Orissan folklore as a whole, he had no scope to pay special attention to the study of ballads alone.

Dr. N. Miśra in an article 'Oriya ballads and oral tradition' (Misra, 1965), speaks mainly of the singers, the ballad-types and socio- cultural significance of a few popular ballads.

Scope of Study

Folk-songs (including proverbs, riddles, etc.) and tales of Orissa collected so far by different scholars, in several volumes, are indicative of the bulk of folk-literature in the region. Ballads

form a major portion of the same. Sri Chakradhar Mahāpātra and Dr. K. B. Dās have collected a bunch, each, along with other genres of folk-songs. Although both of them treat the 'Oṣā' and 'Brata' songs as folk-literature, they have not included them as ballads. But I feel, judged from ballad-characteristics, they qualify to be included as such. The peculiarities of these songs have been brought out in the section 'Types of the ballads and their singers'.

Attempts are yet to be made to bring out an anthology of Oriya folk-ballads collected so far by different folklorists. Besides, only a limited few of them appear in English (Das, 1953). This necessitates to summarize some more ballads selected in a controlled way to suit our purpose (Cf. Chapter I). A few lines added to each summary (especially in case of the longer ones) are meant to indicate the construction of the plot. This may help to conjecture the shape of each ballad and compensate the want of a translated version.

Folklore as a discipline is related to various other branches of learning like Anthropology, History, Psychology, Religion, Sociology, etc. Various methods of study also have been developed in Folklore as well as Anthropology such as the Comparative method, Historical-Geographical or the Finnish method, Psychological method, Structural method, etc. But none of these methods is quite suitable for the present purpose for I wish to view the ballads as a student of literature. Hence emphasis will be put on the points like construction of plot, art of narration, rhyme and versification and similes and metaphors. etc. Literature being the criticism of life, it may be rewarding to note how the folk paint themselves and react to their surroundings, under such headings as 'Society and Religion' and 'Flora and Fauna.'

Structural approaches of V. J. Propp and Levi–strauss are regarded as most modern methods in the study of folk-tales and myths respectively. Since the approaches aim at the study of the relationship between the part and the whole, the methods may be utilized as a complementary measure to our study of composition of the ballads (some of which are also myths), which is of artistic (literary) interest.

1

THEME AND COMPOSITION

The theme is of vital importance to a ballad, which attracts the listeners most. The themes of ballads, as in folk-tales, are varied. The events that take place in the lives of kings, fairies, ghosts, house-wives, children, birds and beasts, mostly through interactions, have commanded patient ears of the young as well as the old since time immemorial. Ballads and tales are so alluring, perhaps, because readily they grant their listeners citizenship of atleast three worlds—the world of imagination, the world of reality and the third, which is a combination of the both. Besides this general characteristic as regards theme, the Oriya (Indian) folk-ballads have some specialities about them under the cultural influence of the land.

'All the affairs in the Hindu are directly or indirectly connected with religion. He feels no interest and cannot induce himself to join in any work that does not seem to him to possess any religious merit' (Sarkar, 1972) — the observation is true in the case of ballads too. In fact we find a lot of Oriya ballads which breathe religious spirit. The traditianal singer of Orissa (The Natha Yogi) sings the ballad 'Govinda Candra' where the queen-mother advises her son to renounce the world. The cow Baula keeps her promise and returns back to a tiger to be devoured and the tiger, on his part, spares her life and goes to heaven. A brahmin pilgrim who dies at Puri goes to hell as he, on the eve of his death, thinks of his friend who lives in a harlotage. His friend, on the other hand, thinks of him as being with Lord Jagannath of Puri and goes to heaven. Karna, the giver, sacrifices his son to a brahmin (God in disguise) as he has promised to supply anything he wants to eat. In this way the religious ballads sing of truth, sacrifice and all human virtues, though not for their own sake. They are prompted by the fear of hell and a longing to win a seat in heaven.

As regards the interest of the folk in 'Gambhira' of Bengal, Sarkar observes, '... although the Gambhira is a religious institution, its organizers are found to pay great attention to their secular interest' (Sarkar, 1972). The 'secular interest' in ballads are quite conspicuous in the religious ballads of the 'Osa' and 'Brata Katha' (fastings and vows) of Orissa. The devotees observe the 'Osa' and 'Brata' to fulfil some kind of desire or lack in life. It is usually for a son, health, long life and prosperity. K. B. Das observes, 'Such fasting earns one religious merit with the aim of securing release from the cycle of rebirths' (Das. 1978) Besides 'Osa' and 'Brata', religious ballads are also presented in 'Das Kathia' and 'Thia pala' performances (Kar, 1978). Of course, now, secular themes are being more and more preferred especially in the latter two.

'Many folk-tales and folk-songs take for their theme the day to day family-scene in a typical joint household' (Mahapatra. 1979). The family scenes Mahapatra refers to are strife, death and marriages which are most suited to the ballad form. Due to family discord, a newly married bride commits suicide, the loving son of a mother dies in infancy, a daughter gets married amidst uncongenial circumstances. the father of a newly married bride is turned out discourteously from her husband's house. The themes are, thus, tear-soaked though sometimes hilarious.

Orissan folk-literature has a tradition of secular ballads. But there are very few of them exclusively devoted to the theme of love as, for example, the Mymensing ballads of Bengal. In the ballads like 'Adā muha hoi tārā kāhī pāin rusu (O star, why are you woe-begone ?) we come across love not sanctioned by the society but the inner and outer conflict as revealed in the former (Battacharya, 1973) are absent from Oriya ballads.

Historical events, too, have been accepted as ballad-themes. A very popular historical ballad of Orissa is that of the banishment of king Dibyasinha deva of Puri, to the Andamans, in the year 1878 (Das, 1958). Although historical folk-ballads are found in good number in other parts of our country (Subba Rao, 1978) we have only a limited few of them collected from Orissa. Orissa had a glorious military tradition under the

Gajapati Kings of Puri who had, to their support, the undaunted Paik army. But for reasons unknown, the ballads and tales on their heroic achievements have fallen into oblivion. The only heroic tale current in tradition is that of king Purushottam dev conquering the king of Kanci of the South.

There are so many popular myths and legends especially around the temples and local gods which, as themes, have crept into folk-ballads. Most popular among them are the myths and legends around the temple of Lord Jagannath of Puri.

Composition

The ballads open with or without an invocation. The course of the story moves ahead with least diversions. In case of religious ballads, however, detailed description of rituals seem superfluous from artisiic point of view. The ballads are sometimes divided into stanzas. All are in rhymed verses. Social and domestic life on befitting occasions. even in religious ballads, have been faithfully depicted (Mishra, 1978). The use of similes and metaphors is a striking feature in them, which add to their aesthetic flavour. Inspite of all artistic accomplishments the ballads donot lack the very nature of the folk, to feel free. The liberty that the folk-poet allows himself is especially marked in his rhyme and versification (Das, 1958).

The salient features of composition shall be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. In the following few sections of this chapter, therefore, only the theme of each individual ballad and its construction of plot have been dealt with.

I. RELIGIOUS BALLADS

(A) Yogi Gita (Songs of the Yogi)

1. Baulā Gāi : (The Cow Baulā) Palli Giti Samcayana-I, p. 25, 30 verses.

There lives in Biranci of Kānci Kingdom a Brāhmin named Dhaneswar. His cow, 'Baulā', goes to forest everyday to graze. In course of time Baulā becomes pregnant and gives birth to a male calf. One day, at day's close, while returning home impatient to feed her baby, Baulā confronts a tiger. He is ferocious being hungry for a whole week. He wants to devour Baulā. Baulā pleads that she has an infant, three days' old, whom she is to feed. She entreats him to allow her to go and return to him after feeding her baby. The tiger looks suspicious. At this, she takes an oath in the name of the sun, the moon and the ocean—all truth abiding, and also the 'sacred flag' of Lord Jagannath. She goes home, feeds her baby and bidding it farewell with a heavy heart, comes back to the tiger, true to her word. The calf cannot but follow her. God descends upon the tiger's conscience. The beast is enlightened with knowledge. Now he cannot kill Baulā and thereby commit two sins at a time and prays her to return home. The cow, stretches her tail up helping the tiger climb to heaven. Baulā returns home overwhelmed with joy.

Construction of plot

The opening of the ballad introduces the owner of the cow, who has no role in the development of action. It only helps to particularize the cow and its whereabouts. Similarly, the description of pregnancy of the cow and birth of the calf add only to create an atmosphere of make-belief. The narration, though rapid, lingers a while to relate the dialogue between

the cow and the tiger as well as that between the cow and the calf.

The closing verse attributes the incident to 'Satya yuga', the age of truth.

2. Subāni Gāi Kathā : (The Tale of the Cow, Subāni) Palli Giti Samcayana-II, p. 51, 49 verses.

There lives in the city of Biranci, in Kānci, a Brāhmin named Dhaneśwar. He owns a cow. The cow Subāni is barren for twelve years. It is a sin to look at a barren cow early in the morning. The cow is gifted away to a Brāhmin. Two butchers, who are brothers, arrive and buy the cow for five rupees.

Subāni flees for life and is chased for seven days. The butchers become hungry. Kubera Sāhu, a pious landlord, offers them food. The butchers regain strength, catch hold of the cow and kill it. Yama, the lord of death, takes note of the event and the moment Subāni is killed, misfortunes pour upon Kubera Sāhu. The daughter-in-law does not return from bathing ghat, the son does not return from school and the ships are drowned. The couple, bereft of all wealth, kith and kin, has to beg for alms.

Advised by his wife, Kubera proceeds to his father-in-law's house for help. On the way, he does not take food before offering a part of it to a Brāhmin. God is pleased with him. He advises him not to participate in cruel activities again and returns him good luck, this time better.

Construction of plot

The first two lines are devoted to invoke Lord Jagannath. Dhaneswar and his cow are introduced after that. The plot then advances in a rapid, straightforward manner. The miseries suffered by Kubera Sāhu for supporting the butchers form a major portion of the narrative. The ballad hurries towards a close soon after God has imparted moral lessons to Kubera Sāhu.

3. Dui Brāhmana (Two Brāhmins), Palli Giti Samcayana-II, p. 63, 10 verses.

Out of two brāhmin-friends one resides in a harlotage, the other in the holy city of Puri. The former is deep drunk with mundane pleasure ; the latter leads a holy life. On the eve of death, the two brāhmins think of each other. The former thinks of the brāhmin in the harlotage and goes to hell, but the latter thinks of his friend in Puri and goes to heaven.

Construction of plot

The first two lines of the ballad metnion the dwelling places of the two brāhmins, which are set in contrast. The subsequent two verses depict their activities which are similarly opposed to each other. The last moments of the brāhmin, who goes to heaven, have been dealt with in greater detail than those of the other.

4 Duiti Paksi (Two Birds), Palli Giti Samcayana-II, p. 64, 12 verses.

One day a hunter strikes and catches a male dove. He tells the agrieved spouse that he will spare her husband's life if she fetches him fire. When fire is brought, the hunter roasts the male dove to the great shock of the female bird. Out of frustration, she plunges into the same fire. The hunter is happy but, to his surprise, he finds two chariots descending from heaven for the birds.

Construction of plot

The poet addresses the female folk to whom the story is supposed to be narrated. The tale is based on a custom in ancient India in which wives entered the funeral fire of their husbands. The story advances through dialogues between the hunter and the dove interspersed with corresponding action by either of them. The poet prescribes the singing of this ballad

in the month of November (Kārtik) for escaping from widowhood.

5. Hamsa Hamsuli Boli (The Tale of a Swan Couple) Palli Giti Samcayana-II, p. 65, 48 verses.

A couple of noble-hearted swans lives in the lake 'Mānasarobara'. They feed on pearls and offer those to religious men who pass by.

A king of some Western kingdom loses eyes from leprosy and is to be cured by the roasted meat of pearl-eating swans. A hunter comes to them in the guise of a hermit. The swans doubt him, still they welcome him. As the hunter unsheathes a sword, the birds ask the reason. They entreat him to take them to the king alive. The king is cured at the very sight of the swans. He begs of them to give him permanent company. But the swans cannot forget the clear and sweet water of Mānasarobara. They return there and feed on pearls as before.

Construstion of plot

At first the poet provides an account of day-to-day life of the swan couple. Then the blind king has been introduced with his problem. The treachery of the hunter and the innocence of the swans have been brought out through dialogues and actions. The king's recovery and the return of the swans have been described very briefly. As the noble swans are great devotees of the Lord, the poet instructs listeners to meditate over their lotus-feet.

6. Govindacandra, Palli Giti Samcayana-I, p. 27, 149 verses.

Queen Mukutadei is barren. The king puts her in the stable and tortures her without sufficient food, clothes and cosmetics. Yet she saves a portion from her scanty supply of food for the brāhmin and the maid-servant Through a messenger, she obtains enough gold from her parents, constructs two palaces more beautiful than the king's, appoints hundreds of maid-servants and lives in plenty.

The king, on his way to hunting, comes across her palace. The queen welcomes him. The king doubts the fact that she obtained wealth from her parents. Her truthfulness is put to rigorous test. She walks on the edge of a sharp sword without any injury to her feet and sinks into unfathomable water only to come out after seven days untouched by ferocious aquatic animals. She plunges into fire and comes out after seven days with even her hair and clothes intact. The king accepts her again The queen observes a lot of penances and begets the child. Govindacandra.

Mukutādei knows the fate of her child. Once she had been to lord Yama, the god of death, to save her husband's life. While reading the fate of her husband, she had a chance to come across that of her son. She learns that the child is fated to die at the age of eighteen. Therefore, she urges him to be a Yogi to escape his lot. The son pleads for accompaniment of four queens out of ninety nine. The mother explains to him the futility of worldly life and all its allurements. At last, Govindacandra accepts her bidding. He renounces the world, goes to Nāthayogi, Hādipā and becomes his disciple.

Construction of plot

The opening portion of the ballad pleads for renouncement of worldly pleasure. It is an echo of Mukutādei's advice to her son. The story starts with a dialogue between the king and Mukutādei. It is followed by a long description of tortures she has to bear. The support of her parents and change of fortune has been described with equal vividness. The story takes a definite turn with the arrival of the king in her new castle. The rigorous trials she is put to, have been detailed serially. Once the reconciliation is brought about between the royal pair, the poet dallies with the matter of pregnancy, different stages of it, the birth and events till the boy is married. A dialogue follows, then, between the mother and the child regarding renoucing the world. The queen recapitulates her past sufferings once more and describes the situation

in which she had to take oath to make him a Yogi. The episode of how she saved the life of her husband from the god of death and chanced to learn the pre-mature death of the son, has been briefly narrated. The ballad, then, proceeds to relate Govindacandra's convincement and acceptance of asceticism.

Variant I, p. 37, 16 verses.

Govindacandra is to die at the completion of his eighteenth year of age. Only fifteen days are left. He has to be a yogi to escape death. The mother urges him to do so immediately. The boy asks, if he is to be a yogi, why didn't she christen him as such from his very boyhood. Further, if he is to die one day, why shouldn't he die as a king! The mother persuades him not to be bewitched by the illusions of this transitory world. Leaving aside the queens, the beauty and glamour of the unreal world, he should quest for what is perennial.

The present version is very short in comparison with the previous one. It presents, in a nutshell, the essence of the story in an effective way.

Construction of plot

The ballad opens with the queen's advice to Govindacandra to renounce the world. Next follows the reactions of Govindacandra showing his reluctance and attachment to his queens. His questions are logical. There is no reply to his questions but the mother only persuades him to leave the world emphasizing on its transitoriness.

Variant II, 38, 25 verses.

The queens of Govindacandra plead that they should be permitted to accompany him to render him all sorts of services when in foreign lands. They would beg for alms in the Kalinga city when he is tired. They would fetch him water

when he is thirsty. But Govindacandra points out the troubles. People would beat him and snatch them away calling him a thief. In that case, the wives retort, they would commit suicide and render them sinners. At this he replies that he has no permission from his mother. The ladies must remain at home and serve her. The queen Padmābati persists on. But turning a deaf ear to her, he wraps himself up with a 'Kaupuni', puts a 'Rudrākṣmālā' around his neck, takes a bowl of gourd and goes out as a yogi. The consorts see him off mournfully.

Construction of plot

This version of the ballad depicts exquisitely the emotions of the queens as Govindacandra takes farewell of them. A long dialogue follows between them. Govindacandra puts forth a lame excuse as to why they should not be allowed to accompany him. He, somehow, avoids their request referring to his mother's will. A brief advice of Govindacandra to his wives has been added to the narration. The ballad, then, continues to describe the queens' persistence and indifference of the prince.

This version may be treated as supplementary to either of the previous versions.

7. Biśikeśana, Palli Giti Samcayana-II, p. 54, 117 verses.

The ballad narrates the episode of Karṇa, the giver, from the Mahābhārata. God descends in the guise of a Brāhmin to test his piety. The Brāhmin gets the king promise-bound and asks for the cooked flesh of his only son, Biśikeśana, for dinner. The king consults his queen who is equally pious. With a heavy heart she advises the king to sacrifice the son. The boy, returning from school, hears the story. He is delighted to know that he is going to be a sacrifice. He consoles his sad parents.

God, now, orders his 'Sudarśan Cakra' to take Biśikeśan away from everybody's sight and play the boy's role himself.

When the king kills his son, it is but a 'māyā' Biśikeśan who is dead. Cooking over, the Brahmin points out that the queen has preserved the head of the boy. They prepare one more curry with the head. The Brahmin orders to serve four meals. The parents must take the meal first for confirmation that they have not added poison to it. The parents hesitate, yet they take seats. The Brāhmin orders then that the fourth meal is to be fed to Biśikeśan. The parents are dumbfounded. When, according to his order, they call out for him outside, the boy comes running from his school.

The Lord blesses Karṇa from the mid-heaven and warns him that he should not offer the son as sacrifice again, lest the demons may take the opportunity to devour the child.

Construction of plot

Though considerably a long ballad, it opens without an invocation. The appearance of the Brāhmin has been drawn graphically. The dialogue between the Brāhmin and Karna, the latters's promise, the king's consultation with his wife, the son's delight, etc., the different phases of the story, have been presented in good proportion. The queen who instantly expresses her consent to sacrifice the child for the sake of the truth, is above sentiments.

The last part of the ballad contains the divine voice that warns the king never to sacrifice the child again and Karna's ascendance to heaven after death. According to the colophon, the writer is some Balarāma Dāsa.

(B) Oṣā

8. Dhāna Māṇika Oṣā, 252 verses.

Laxmi, the goddess of plenty, goes to the house of a merchant in the guise of an old brāhmin lady. She explains to her how to observe the Dhānamāṇika Oṣā in four phases. Instead of listening to the advice the Sādhabāṇi (the merchant's wife) sets a dog on

her. Shyāmādei, the daughter of the merchant, returns from school. She meets the old lady on the way. She lends her a patient ear and decides to observe the 'oṣā'. She is married to a handsome and wealthy husband soon after the observance. On the other hand the merchant meets great misfortunes. Seven sons gone out on trade do not return. He is reduced to begging. His wife has to wear tattered clothes. The 'Sādhaba' (merchant) approaches his daughter for help. Shyāmādei offers him a pumpkin stuffed with jewels. But only burnt coke comes out when his wife cuts it open. It happens so due to the wrath of Laxmi.

The merchant's wife now herself proceeds to the daughter's house. A costly sāri, offered to her after her bath, vanishes. Shyāmādei is much concerned at this. After a few days, she observes the first phase of the oṣā. She appeals to her mother to fast till the pujā is over. But the mother cannot control herself and eats some leftovers. The second time she swallows a banana even without peeling it off. The third time she swallows even raw corns. In the fourth phase of the oṣā Laxmi re-appears and orders Shyāmādei to humiliate her mother and desert her. Shyāmādei obeys but, when offered a boon, she entreats the goddess to bless her poor mother. The goddess pardons her and warns her not to belittle the oṣā again. The merchant's wife returns home to see her seven sons with loaded ships and her husband in all prosperity.

Construction of plot

The ballad is subdivided into ten parts (pālis). The first pāli begins with an invocation to goddess Laxmi and describes the arrival of the goddess at the merchant's house. In the second pāli, the procedure of the oṣā is briefed by the goddess. The third pāli describes the humiliation of the goddess by the merchant's wife and the meeting between the goddess and Shyāmādei. The fourth pāli repeats the procedure of the oṣā again as related by the goddess to Shyāmādei who observes the oṣā accordingly. The fifth pāli describes the marriage of Shyāmādei and the misfortunes that poured on the merchant. The sixth pāli describes the troubles faced by the father at Shyāmādei's house and his return. The seventh pāli describes

that of the mother. The ninth pāli describes the pardoning and the tenth shows how the merchant's wife gets back her fortune by the grace of goddess Laxmi.

9. Ta' Poi, 682 verses.

Ta' Poi, the only daughter of Dhaneśwar, a rich merchant, who owns seven masted vessels, is loved by her seven brothers very dearly. She, a five-year-old child, plays outside with her mates. A brāhmin-widow arrives there and taunts her saying that a rich man's daughter like her should be ashamed of playing with sand. A befitting toy for her must be a gold-moon. Ta' poi refuses to take meals and insists on having that rare gift. She is granted a gold-moon, but her father dies when the moon is half made and her mother on its completion. As the family meets with stark poverty, the seven brothers set out on trade. The brāhmin-widow reappears and explains to the sisters-in-law that Ta' Poi is going to be the cause of their distress. She will, no doubt, speak ill of them on her brothers' return. Thus convinced, the sisters-in-law start torturing her. Only Nilādri, the youngest sister-in-law, is kind and helpful.

Ta' Poi is not served good food. She has to tend goats in the forest. Her misery reaches its climax when a goat, Gharamaṇi, is lost. She is threatened with severe punishment unless the goat is found out. While searching for the goat, she comes across a group of girls worshipping the goddess khudurukuṇi (Mangalā) and joins the party. In no time the goat appears before her. She offers the *pujā*, again, in gratitude to goddess Mangalā.

One night, while Ta' Poi is in the forest weeping helplessly, the seven brothers, with loaded ships, reach the shore. They are shocked to learn Ta' Poi's miseries. They give her a sharp knife and send news to their wives of their arrival. As the wives of the seven brothers proceed to welcome them, Ta' Poi cuts their noses, sparing only that of the youngest one's.

The six sisters-in-law on losing their noses, enter a dense forest. They collapse and die at the sight of a tiger. A Śavara (huntsman), on his way to worshipping Śiva, happens to come

across them and brings them back to life by the grace of Śiva. The ladies flee to their fathers' houses.

Ta'poi is given in marriage to a befitting groom. But soon after the ceremony is over, she ascends to heaven as she is, in fact, a fairy and the period for which she was cursed to live on earth is over.

The seven brothers proceed to their fathers-in-law and explain to them the matter They are re-united with their wives and lead a happy life through the same worship.

Construction of plot

The ballad is subdivided into five *adhyāyas* or parts. It opens with an invocation to Lord Jagannāth. Next follows a description as to how the *pujā* originated and was observed by the queens of Krisṇa to their great benefit. After the *pujā* is over, Sakrābati, one of the queens, narrates the story of Ta'poi. The first part carries the story till the seven brothers set out on trade. The second part describes the torture and the third the arrival of the brothers to the rescue of Ta'poi. The fourth describes Ta'Poi's marriage and her return to heaven. The last part describes the happy re-union.

In course of narration, the queens raise certain questions which are either answered or overlooked.

According to the colophon, Śiśu Gopinātha is the writer. A short description of a jubilant observance of the *pujā* has, however, been added to the ballad in a different metre by some Dinabandhu, a gāyaka, as it appears in the colophon of the supplement.

10. Kānji Anlā Oṣā Kathā, 69 verses.

The youngest daughter-in-law of the *Sādhaba* (merchant) is pregnant. She wants to taste the curry of pumpkin. She plucks a pumpkin from a place common to her and her neighbour and thus commits a sin and is cursed. All her five sons, born successively,

are stolen by Ṣaṭidusāi, the goddess of birth and infancy. The mother-in-law gets angry. When the lady is pregnant for the sixth time, the mother-in-law bids her to proceed with one end of an enormous thread and give birth to the child where the thread ends. In course of her journey, the daughter-in-law enters the deepest part of a forest, gives birth to her child there and weeps helplessly. The goddess Ṣaṭidusāi appears with all her lost sons and reminds her of the curse of her neighbour. The goddess leads her home to her mother-in-law and relates her the procedure of the Kānjianlā oṣā. It is to be observed by the daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law leads a prosperous life by observing it.

Construction of plot

The ballad is without an invocation. The beginning is abrupt. The thematic significance of the ballad lies in the fact that it prescribes the worship of Ṣaṭidusāi in the shape of seven dry fishes decorated and wrapped with yellow cotton

The offerings to the goddess consist of 'Kānji' (a type of curry having medicinal value), carrot, dry fish and some green leaves.

11. Alanā Oṣā, 270 verses.

Mādhaba Paṇḍā, a brāhmin, lives on alms. He has two daughters, Rohiṇi and Dulaṇi. One day Mādhaba brings some rice and black grams to his wife to make cakes all of which he plans to eat alone when the girls are asleep. But while his wife dries the grains in the sun, a bullock eats them all up. The lady beats the bullock severely and collects its dung. She gathers some grains from the dung, grinds them on a flat stone and makes eight cakes only. The girls return home and see the cakes. They are given two. When the brāhmin returns home, his wife tells him the whole story. The brāhmin gets angry with the girls and leaves them in a dense forest.

The girls pray to a tree for help. The tree slits open and as the girls get inside, it closes. Some angels come down to observe 'Alaṇā Oṣā' under that tree. They meet the girls, listen to their

owe and advise them to observe 'Alaṇā Oṣā'. Next morning, as they observe the oṣā, their father arrives to take them back home.

The girls, by observing the oṣā, make Mādhaba Paṇḍā rich. He is blessed with a son too. Thus he gets what he wanted for long. But, soon after that, he forgets the oṣā and tortures the girls again. The two sisters once more go away into the forest.

The sun-god, in the guise of a brāhmin, gives them shelter. Shortly they are married to a prince and a minister's son of the country who are on hunting. But the elder sister, Rohiṇi, who marries the prince, doesnot bow down before her host, the sun-god, while leaving for the royal house-hold. She is cursed to lead a wretched life. But the younger one, Dulaṇi, bows down before the god seven times and is blessed with a son. She grows more and more prosperous. On the other hand all wealth of the royal household vaporizes.

Rohiṇi and other members of the royal household have to live on alms. As Dulaṇi sends some money to her elder sister, it is snatched away by the sun-god. Dulaṇi knows the reason. She invites her elder sister and both of them observe the 'Alaṇā Oṣā'. The sun-god appears as a brāhmin and blesses Rohiṇi too who gets back her fortune.

Mādhaba Paṇḍā lives from hand to mouth. The only son turns mad. However, he arrives, unawares, at Dulaṇi's house while begging. The pious girl is shocked to see her father's condition. The elder daughter is sent for. A magnificent building is constructed by the king for his parents-in-law. All of them observe the 'Alaṇā Oṣā' and lead a happy life.

Construction of plot

Lord Niranjana, the sun-god, is invoked at the beginning. The story is presented by Śukadeva to Nārada. The ballad is subdivided into three Adhāyas (Chapters). The first chapter describes the misfortune of the girls and the knowledge of the 'Alaṇā Oṣā' from the angels. The second narrates their first success through the oṣā, their second refuse in the forest and their marriage. The third brings about the resolution According to the colophon,

the author is some Tāreśwara Caudhury.

12. Caitra Mangalbār Oṣā (The Birth of Gaṇeś), Palli Giti Saṃcayana-II, pp. 87, 25 verses.

Śiva leaves for Ekāmrakānana. Pārvati, the spouse, feels lonely. She creates a son out of the dirt of her body. The child is named Gaṇeś. Gaṇeś is employed as a door-keeper. When Śiva returns, Gaṇeś refuses him entry into the house according to his mother's order. A duel is fought. Śiva beheads his son unknowingly. He repents. Pārvati advises him to fetch the head of a living being sleeping with its head towards the north. Thus an elephant's head is brought. When this head is transplanted, Gaṇeś wakes up. Since then, the head and the trunk are represented by a coconut and a jug respectively in worship. A woman of low caste takes the jug and starts the 'Mangalbār Oṣā'. Other women follow suit.

Construction of plot

The story develops through some clear phases such as the departure of Śiva, creation of Gaṇeś, the duel, replacement of the head and description of origin of the oṣā. It is told in a summary fashion.

13. Aji Gurubāra Pāhilā Rāti (It is Thursday Morning), Palli Giti Saṃcayana—II, p. 89, 10 verses.

One Thursday a housewife invokes the diety Laxmi. She offers a golden seat, spreads cloth on her way and offers scented water to wash her feet. The goddess is pleased. She offers her boons. The housewife begs for a son. She desires that her husband should be good and handsome. Milch-cows and sixty pairs of bullocks for the field are also prayed for. The goddess humorously remarks that pretending ignorance she has asked for so much. Had she known, she would have asked for half of her treasury. The blessed devotee further

adds that her son should be black and she may be granted rice of rough quality throughout her life. After death she may be provided a place in the 'Baikuntha'.

Construction of plot

In the opening of the ballad, the housewife narrates the procedure of the worship she is to follow. There is reference to the appearance of the goddess, but there is sudden grant of the boon. Then the dialogue follows between the two.

(C) Brata

14. Rabinārāyana Brata, 123 verses.

The sun-god, according to the advice of his mother, wishes that the Rabinārāyana brata be observed in his name. The mother explains to him its significance.

There lived in Saurāstra a rich merchant, Bidyābinoda. He had a son, Hirādhara and a girl, Sankocanā. The name of the daughter-in-law was Padmāvati. Every morning the daughter-in-law offered a handful of rice to the brāhmin who blessed her with prosperous life, but though his daughter offered him plenty of gold, the brāhmin wished that she might live to her fate. As the merchant's wife requested the brāhmin to explain the matter, he advised her to dig the place where the girl was born. Only a broken pot, a wornout broom-stick and broken bangles were unearthed. The brāhmin sent the merchant's wife to Amari, a potteress in the village, to unveil the mystery. The merchant's wife did her great service and enquired about the matter. But Amari told her that she would be intimated of the fact at the time of the girl's marriage. Amari concealed herself inside the room of the bride and bridegroom in the honeymoon night. The bridegroom was to die that day. Amari protected him from Yama by virtue of her miraculous power. Insulted there, Yama took the revenge. He took the lives of her seven sons and her husband. The next

day Amari narrated the whole story to the merchant's wife and led her to her own house. The merchant's wife was dumbfounded to see the husband and seven sons of Amari lying dead. But Amari, unperturbed, sprinkled some chanted water on the corpses and immediately got them back to life. The merchant's wife got amazed at her strange power and wanted to know the secret. It was the effect of Rabinārāyana brata, Amari disclosed. Amari explained to her the details of Rabinārāyaṇa brata. The merchant's wife observed the brata accordingly and went to heaven after death.

There is an invocation to Niranjana, the sun-god at the opening of the poem. Immediately after that a brief conversation between Baibasuta Manu and Agasti is introduced. Manu enquires of the most deadly sins and the ways to get rid of them. Agasti describes how the sun-god introduced the *brata* at his mother's advice, who had narrated the episode of Amari, the potteress. The last part of the story has been devoted to describe the procedure of the *brata*.

The theme of the ballad is taken from the Bhabishya Puraṇa.

15. Kukkuti Brata, 156 verses.

Nahuṣa, the king of Ayodhyā, is unhappy as his queen Candramukhi is barren. Menakā, the wife of royal preceptor, is her intimate friend. Both of them worship Umā-Maheśwara and tie the *brata*, a yellow thread with eight knots, on the right arm. Candramukhi loses the *brata* and is reborn as a she-monkey. Menakā out of pride, neglects the worship but dies with the *brata* on her hand. She is reborn as a hen. In this life they continue the worship through fasting. They are reborn as human beings. The she-monkey becomes a queen, Iswari by name, and the hen becomes Bhuṣaṇā, wife of the royal preceptor. The only son of Iswari dies at the age of eight. She invites the children of Bhuṣaṇā and kills them all. But to her surprise the children regain life. Bhuṣaṇā tells her the secret of the *brata*. Iswari observes the *brata* and is blessed with children.

The story is presented as being told by Kriṣṇa at the query

of Judhiṣṭhira. Śrikriṣṇa speaks of the story of his own birth. His mother Devaki begot him through the observance of this *brata* on the advice of a riṣi, Lomaśa, who told her the story of the she-monkey and the hen.

16. Nāgal Caturthi Brata Kathā, 142 verses.

There lives in the island of Kośala a rich merchant, who has seven sons and seven daughters-in-law. The youngest daughter-in-law is not in the good books of the mother-in-law and has to do all household work. Both of them go to the river, one day, and catch seven fish. The youngest daughter-in-law puts them in the eaves and forgets all about them. When the folder is opened after a few days, seven young serpents drop down and hide in the kitchen. The daughter-in-law feeds them and leaves them in a white-ant-hill. The snakes happen to be the children of the serpent-king of the underworld, who were play ing in the guise of fish, when they were caught. With permission of the mother, the seven snake-brothers go out on seven horses and bring their sister, the youngest daughter-in-law, home. After a few months' stay she returns to her mother-in-law's house with great treasure. The old serpent-king, her grand father, goes to bite her to death out of jealousy. But he happens to overhear a dialogue between the *Sadhaba's* wife and his grand daughter. The mother-in-law is not satisfied with the treasure she has brought The old serpent, instead of biting the grand daughter, returns home stealthily and sends her more wealth.

Construction of plot

The ballad opens with an invocation to the gods Gaṇeśa, Nārāyaṇa, goddess Candikā and the serpent queen of Takṣaka. The poet bows down at their lotus feet. The narrative is straightforward without a sub-plot. The description of the dungeon of snakes kept in reserve to devour sinners and infidels adds horror to the atmosphere of the underworld. Against this back-ground, procedure of the *brata* has been recounted.

17. Puṣa Rabibāra Brata Kathā, 69 verses.

Sugati is the king of the Marahaṭṭā kingdom. Suśilā is his queen. Ratnākar, the only son born to their piousness, attains youth and wants to marry. Through a negotiator, marriage is settled with Bālabati. the daughter of a rich merchant of Karṇāṭa. The merchant presents her immense wealth and ornaments as dowry.

When Bālabati is yet at some distance from her mother-in-law's house, she notices that the sun is about to set. This poses a great problem to her. If the sun sets and it gets dark, how can the people see and appreciate the wealth presented to her by her father ? Bālabati prays to the sun-god to stay. Her prayer is granted. Bālabati reaches her mother-in-law's house with great pomp and ceremony.

The sun-god's mother is impatient at the unusual delay of her son. She curses the person causing such delay to suffer from a fatal disease, leprosy. The sun-god himself pleads Bālabati's innocence and prays to forgive her. The mother-goddess prescribes the observance of this *brata* as the remedy. Bālabati actually suffers after a few days and gets cured by observing the same *brata* according to the advice of some preceptor and brahmins.

Construction of Plot

At the outset, Niranjana, the sun-god, is invoked. The procedure of the *brata* is narrated through the mother-goddess. The story is narrated in a run-on style without diversions.

II. SOCIAL BALLADS

(A) Family

(i) Strife :

18. Palli Aśru (Tear Drops). Palli Giti Saṃcayana — I, p. 1, 30 verses.

The sorrows of a mistress at her mother-in-law's house is heart-rending. The father-in-law renames her as inauspicious Laxmi. The mother-in-law calls her a vile serpent and

pinches her chin. She beats her severely and puts a rope near her head for her to get hanged. When she wakes up at night, she is startled taking the rope for a snake. All other members of the family behave with her the same way. Without supplying adequate fuel and other materials they demand food. If she sits for a while, they call her a slab of stone; if she opens her mouth she is garrulous; if she sleeps, she is idle and if she weeps, they ask which of her relatives is dead. They add extra water and salt to curry and accuse her of the guilt.

She has been married in childhood and has not seen the husband since then. She has not even for a time returned to her parents. There is none to sympathise with her from her maternal uncle's house. She is, as if, in a 'snake's basket'.

Her mother has given enough dowry. Yet the mother-in-law passes humiliating remarks on her. Inspite of all that she has made up her mind to tolerate all and has turned her chest into a pillar of stone.

Construction of plot

The narration is in first person. The first two verses satirize the attitude of the father-in-law. The mother-in-law's cruelty has been described next. The bride then proceeds to relate the hostile attitude of other members of the family without any specification. Naturally her thought-process shifts to her parents and uncles. The poem closes with a description of the mother-in-law's remarks on the dowry she has brought. The closing verse contains the maiden's firm decision to tolerate all.

19. Kathāe Kahibi Prabhu Śuṇibaṭiki (Would you listen to me once O my Lord !). Palli Giti Saṃcayana — II. p. 76, 22 verses.

Marriage is performed according to the father's will in spite of the mother's reluctance. Since then, there is no end to tortures on the bride She is beaten severely throughout the day. The husband sometimes wakes up at midnight and does the same. There is none to support her. The mother-

in-law troubles her in respects of food, clothing and cosmetics. Her hair is never combed. The little quantity of food which she takes is put in an exaggerated way She is provided with only a small piece of cloth for the whole year. She has to labour hard at noon while others take rest. She has to live on crumbs or leave the house She decides to commit sucide but she has been prevented from doing so by the aunt-in-law who sympathizes with her. The bride takes a holy dip in the Gangā and performs other rites wishing for the mother-in-law's death. But the old lady still survives. The bride's father is dead, only the mother is there to hear all this. She does not know when she will return to her mother to tell her the story sitting on the small verandah in the inner apartment

Construction of plot

The ballad is an account of tortures faced by a helpless girl in her mother-in-law's house. The girl addresses God and pours out her heart. The cruelty of her husband and mother-in-law has been described in succession. The ballad closes with the bride's recollections of her mother who is equally helpless.

20. Keü Dina Lo Bau Gharaku jibi (Oh Mother, When Will There Be My Home Coming:), Palli Giti Saṃcayana—II, p 78, 12 verses.

The bride is oppressed at her mother-in-law's house. She remembers the day when her father bade her farewell and narrates the tale of her woe. She has been relieved of the kitchen duties since she broke an earthen pot. She has to husk paddy, fetch water and clean the cow-shed, where her meal is also served. She is given only some rice without salt and curry. It is difficult for her to eat the same due to the foul smell of cow-dung. Even at bed-time, there is trouble. The husband shuts the door and starts kicking her.

While massaging his feet the same trouble re-occurs. She simply weeps finding herself helpless. She is impatient to pay a visit to her mother and tell her the tale of woe.

Construction of plot

The opening of the ballad presents a brief description of the bride's farewell from home. Rest of the poem has been devoted to record the tortures inflicted upon her. Only the closing verse expresses her longing to return home.

21. Pahili Pāli (The First Experience at Mother-in-law's House) Utkal Gā̃li Gita. p. 1, 13 verses.

A bride takes farewell from her parents and proceeds to her mother-in-law's house with a heavy heart.

She is accompanied by her uncle. Her father goes half the way to see her off. The father is emotional by temperament. He sheds tears. The gardener of the temple of Gatiśwar consoles him and says that there is no worrying over the girl's departure. Daughters are destined to go to others' houses.

The members of the mother-in-law' house find faults with her. She has not brought *śari* for the sister-in-law (husband's sister). Therefore, her own cloth is snatched away. The mother-in-law passes ironical remarks on her late-coming. They purchase sweets from the market and satirize her saying that her brother has brought those. However, the husband's elder brother and the aunt-in-law come to her support.

Construction of plot

The protagonist first describes the farewell scene and then narrates the uncongenial situations as well as incidents she meets with at her mother in-law's house. The accusation of the mother-in-law and the reply of the aunt in-law in her support are put in direct speech which lend dramatic fervour to the ballad.

22 Janama Śāśu (About a Mother-in-law), Utkal Gā̃li Gita, p. 9, 14 verses.

The mother-in-law does not allow the bride even to touch her feet for massaging because, to her, she is a commoner. The old lady drags her out and shuts the door. She is also accused of trapping the husband. The husband is silent and tries to satisfy both. She prays to the deity Durgā for help and also remembers her mother.

Construction of plot

The ballad presents a detailed account of the maiden's woe. The characters speak for themselves. On the outset, goddess Durgā is addressed. The poem closes with the bride's pining for the blessings of God.

23. Ganjaṇā (Torture), Utkal Gāüḷi Gita, p. 18, 9 verses.

The bride is tortured at her mother-in-law's house. The husband takes no care of her. Covering herself with scanty cloth, she has to fetch water. If she smiles, she is called a prostitute. If she cries, they ask if some of her relatives is dead. If she stands, she is called a pillar. If she sleeps, she is a husking pedal. If she bends, she is satirized to have crumbled legs. If she sits, she is a flat stone. They serve her only a potful of gruel and accuse her of taking a heap of rice. The question of cosmetics like oil and turmeric powder does not arise.

Construction of plot

The miseries faced by the lady in her mother-in-law's house have been narrated one by one. Emphasis has been laid on the satirical remarks passed on her manners.

24. Gurasta Suhāgi (The Lady Who Wins Her Husband's Love) Utkal Gāüḷi Gita, p. 21, 27 verses.

It is morning. Rādhā does not wake up. The mother-in-law rebukes her. She insists her daughter to try a few blows on her. But the daughter fails to muster up that much of courage. Rādhā is taller and stronger than she. Rādhā, at

this, demands reasons for punishment — Does she give away wealth to the neighbours from their rich treasury ? A hot dialogue follows The husband returns with potful of milk and hears all. He holds the mother guilty and wishes for her death. He accuses the sister too. The mother shrinks back and wants that she should be separated from them and the girl should be given away in marriage so that the husband and wife may live happily. Further, she cannot tolerate the secret love between Rādhā and her nephew, Krisṇa. Suddenly at this juncture, Krisṇa arrives with milk pots shouting at his uncle. Rādhā retorts that illicit connections between aunts and nephews are traditional to their family. Candrasenā, her husband, is indifferent to the scandal. He proceeds to take bath and lovingly asks Rādhā to prepare food quickly. The mother-in-law is helpless.

Construction of plot

The ballad opens with a depiction of the old lady's fury at Rādhā's idleness The hot exchanges between Rādhā and her mother-in-law are presented in a dramatic fashion. The arrival of Candrasenā and his support for Rādhā further intensifies the conflict. The action suddenly comes to a close on the arrival of Krisṇa when the quarrel is temporarily suspended.

(ii) Reunion, love and marriage :

25. Dukhini (The Mistress's Woe), Palli Giti Samcayana — I, p. 12, 22 verses.

The girl is given in marriage while she is but a child. She has to wait for long seven years to be united with her husband. When she is fourteen, she is unrest just as a fly. There is no plant to take shelter on, for her.

She finds someone going to goddess Maṅgalā. She accompanies her. There she drinks two and half draughts of charmed water. This does the miracle. It brings her husband from a great distance, who arrives first at his aunt's house. The aunt wisely advises him to take his wife with him as the poor lady has been suffering at home. She is served rice in a flat pot and is blamed of taking huge quantity of food.

Then her 'heart's treasure' proceeds towards home. He sits, for a while, at the village-temple unrecognized by the village-folk.

It is night. The lady is asleep out of sorrow. She has'nt taken meal for the whole day. The pot-herb kept for frying remains unprocessed. The husband enters the house without knowing that it is she lying asleep. She gets up immediately at his query. Her joy knows no bounds. She prepares various items of food for her husband, who enjoys them. The neighbours are surprised at this re-union and the aunt blesses the couple.

Construction of plot

The ballad narrates the marriage, separation and misery through which the mistress has to pass and ultimately the re-union with her husband. The impatience of the lady in separation, and the ecstasy in re-union have been duly amplified. In the second half of the ballad, the plot advances mainly through dialogues.

26. Hinimāni Agaṇi (Agaṇi Humiliated), Palli Giti Saṃcayana — I, p. 24, 8 verses.

The pandemonium at the marriage ceremony of her son shocks the loving mother. The mother has been, so eagerly, waiting for the marriage. But the enemies keep on the fuss till the dawn. The earthen pot containing cakes is stolen by the wretched aunt of the boy. Though, somehow, the marriage is over, the farewell ceremony becomes still more shocking. There is neither the father nor the brother of the bride present by the side of the palanquin. None of them is present at the sacred altar too. The son is unhappy.

Construction of plot

The incidents in the ballad have been narrated serially. The closing refers to the unceremonious ending of the function, which shocks the son as well as the mother.

27. Tuma Aśāre Dina Sariba Mora (I Live Only With The Hope of You) Palli Giti Saṃcayana — I, p. 22. 22 verses.

The mother undergoes the pangs of child-birth, rears up the child very tenderly and, when the girl is seven years old, gives her in marriage. The unhappy incidents on the occasion of marriage cannot be forgotten. The enemies create trouble for the whole night, till the morning. The father of the bride is no longer living to stand behind the palanquin. This gives her a great shock. The bridegroom is also unfortunate that he has no father-in-law to appreciate his merits and welcome him. To her consolation, the night is over and now it dawns.

Construction of plot

The ballad is a recollection of incidents that took place at the time of the girl's marriage. The concern of the mother on the occasion of marriage has been described first. Next follow the reactions of neighbours. A brief description of the sacred altar has been added to that. The closing verses record the feelings of the mother as recollected by the girl.

28. Padilo Achi Dola Puneī Jahna (A Moonlit Night). Palli Giti Saṃcayana – II, p. 77. 18 verses.

The ballad presents a story of re-union after a long separation between a husband and his wife.

It is a moon-lit night. The husband returns from a distant land. His face is smeared with coloured powder on the occasion of *Dola* festival. She is unable to recognise him and stares at him askance. Soon he is welcomed. She serves him delicious food, attends on her mother-in-law and goes to bed late at night. Her loving husband takes her on the lap and presents her a set of costly ornaments. She puts vermilion on her forehead looking at the ring instead of a mirror. She is worried as to who will prepare food according to his taste and take care of him when he is away.

Construction of plot

The moon-lit night has been set as a background to describe the meeting of the lovelorn couple. Next, the household scene in the evening, with the house wife at work, has been depicted with exquisite beauty. The last part of the poem depicts a melancholic meditative mood of the husband

Variant I, 9 verses

It is a moon-lit night. The husband has come to witness the 'Dola' festival. The wife is unable to recognise him as his face is smeared with phagu powder. She brings him a jug of water. The barbar attends upon him. She fries fish and serves him rice. The husband has brought her some presents. The ring serves the purpose of a mirror while putting vermilion on forehead. She finishes her household work, attends on her mother-in-law and it is about midnight when she goes to bed.

Construction of plot

Though in structure it is the same as the previous one, it excludes the sorrowful part of the episode i. e., the preparations of the husband for a distant land. Hence it ends with a happy note of re-union.

29. Jetebele Bhāinā lo Āsile Paśi (On the arrival of my Brother). Palli Giti Saṃcayana—II, p. 79, 11 verses.

The sister is overjoyed at the sight of her brother and offers a jug of water to wash his feet. She wants to return home him at last for a fortnight. But after some time the father-in-law informs her that her brother had left. She peeps through the window only to find others but him. She throws away the broom-stick and lies down on the floor of sorrow. The husband's sister speaks ill of her to her father. The oldman, however, comes to her and consoles her saying that the happiness at parents' house (for a lady) is temporary. She should eat

and do household work.' The son is away. If the bride also leaves, it will be difficult to manage the household.

Construction of plot

The ballad in a straight forward manner records the happiness of a bride at the arrival of her brother and her grief at his departure. It is intercepted by the mischief played by the sister-in-law and consolation given by the father-in-law.

30. Bhāi Nanā (The Memory of a Brother) Utkal Gāüli Gita p. 13, 16 verses.

A bride recollects the arrival of her brother to take her home. She has been moaning that day at the kitchen. As she looks at the beaming face of her brother her sorrow disappears. She gives him water and a wooden pad for washing feet. She serves him gruel and she weeps. The brother consoles her that he has come to take her home. All her happiness vanishes as the brother-in-law (elder one) forbids her to leave. Later, the mother-in-law as well as some village folk satirize her asking whether she has really a mother living. She buries her face and tolerates all helplessly.

Construction of plot

The arrival of the brother is depicted in a vivid manner. It is tinged with emotion, The scene then shifts to the dining space where the brother assures her to take her home. Then follows the refusal of the elder brother-in-law and the return of the brother. The poem closes with a mention of the satirical remark passed by the neighbours.

31. Bhāi Nanā (Brother), Utkal Gāūli Gita, p. 13, 30 verses

The Brother, bowing before goddess Sidheśwari, proceeds to his sister's house. He is welcomed and blessed by all. The sister entreats him to take her home. All the members

of her mother-in-law's house assemble and decide not to allow her go. The elder brother-in-law advices her brother to return home without her knowledge. The lady insists on her brother to plead for her again. At this, the elder brother-in-law plays a trick. He tells her that she would be allowed to go home the next morning but sends her brother away without her knowledge. Finding her brother no where, she starts weeping. Other members of the family persuade her to take meal assuring her that the brother is still there. But later, to her dismay, she finds her brother gone with a heavy heart.

Construction of plot

The subject matter is the same as in the preceding one, but here it is treated in greater detail. Greater number of dialogues have been introduced Here the atmosphere in the mother-in-law's house seems more congenial. It is devoid of the neighbours' satirical remarks of the previous ballad.

32. Āda Muhā Hoi Tarā Kāhī Pāī Rusu (Oh Star, Why do you Look Pale With a Half-turned Face !). Palli Giti Saṃcayana—II, p. 75. 6 stanzas.

The brother-in-law finds the sister-in-law (wife's younger sister) woe-begone. He consoles her and asks her the reason of her sorrow. The sister-in-law hesitates, but at last expresses her love for him. She accuses him of his indifference to her. The brother-in-law offers several excuses for being late. He informs her that he was seriously ill as her brother employed him to carry logs on the hill. The sister-in-law sympathizes with him and confides to him that no more does she want to return to her husband. He advises her to keep it secret from her mother and assures her to pay a visit in the month of February. She is to send news through somebody on the market-day. The lady complains that she has been married to a poor, wretched family ; she is cheated.

Construction of plot

The ballad is composed of dialogues. The constituent stanzas are supposed to have been uttered by the two characters alternately. When the lady has already expressed her love and the same has been appreciated by the brother-in-law, she narrates the troubles at she faces at her mother-in-law's house.

33. Kemiti Pāhiba lo Catuh Cāri Māsa (How Will the Rains be Spent Without Him !), Palli Giti Saṃcayana—II, p. 68, 11 verses.

The wife cooks meals with all her care but the husband does not turn up. When, at last, he returns, he is dressed as a bridēgroom. On inquiry he tries to bluff and tells her that the barbar has coloured his feet for fun, the weaver gave him new nuptial cloth and the gardener gave him the nuptial head-dress. But when asked about the matrimonial thread, he confesses to have married another lady. The wife is worried as to how she will tolerate a co-wife and how her time will pass during the rains.

Construction of plot

The ballad opens with depiction of the sincere wife waiting for her husband. The dialogue follows on his arrival, till the truth is extracted by her. Then follows a description of her remorse. The last part of the poem refers to some fish which can be interpreted as symbols of sex.

34. Bideśa Yātrā (Going on a Pilgrimage), Palli Giti Saṃcayana—I, p. 47, 25 verses.

In a cold November morning, the husband worships the family deity, and proceeds to Purastama (Puri) to offer pujā (worship) to Lord Jagannāth for a son. After four days he sets out for a holy dip in the Gangā. He advises the wife to live cautiously with his mother lest they should be ludicrous before the neighbours. He takes farewell from his mother,

brother and the brother's wife, who advise him regarding health and manners. They advise him not to offend anyone in foreign lands. He then, puts on a gantā and a cap. An umbrella hangs from his shoulder and a rudrākṣa chain round his neck. Thus he dresses himself and rushes away as the wind.

Construction of plot

A brief description of preparations for the journey has been presented first. The farewell scene has been depicted with vividness. His farewell from each relative has been described in a few verses. The parting words to his mother and wife are presented in greater detail. The last stanza presents a portrait of the husband moving away from the wife's sight.

(iii) Separation and death

35. Mo Jibana (My Life), Utkal Gā̃li Gita, p. 2, 17 verses.

The mother is in grief. She has to part with her daughter to her mother-in-law's house. The father-in-law arrives to take her The girl's grand-father calls in a calendar-reader. Other elderly men and women, kith and kin, relatives in the village like aunt and uncle and the neighbours invite her and offer her ornaments. clothes, combs, pots of vermilion or just a meal. The mother. while helping her to dress, remembers her father, who is no more. The brother gets ready to accompany her. Just on the eve of departure she accepts the prasād of the family deity which marks the time of her departure. Like a kite the palanquin-bearers swoop her away. She has to cover a long distance. The mother is worried about her. She worships goddess Bhagabati and prays her for an early re-union.

Construction of plot

The ballad is composed of short stanzas each consisting of three rhymed lines. The mother narrates the incidents preced-

ing the marriage of the girl with scenic effect. It ends with the concern of the mother about the daughter's well-being.

36. Cautā Caḍhāi Nele (A Hearty Welcome), Utkal Gāūli Gita, p. 4, 6 verses.

The maiden has been too much attached to her home and her parents. But she is given away in marriage to a long distance She accuses her parents of cruelty. She tells that the father is a caṇḍāla (member of the lowest class of the society), who floated her away to a long distance. The mother is a caṇḍāla, who emptied her house by turning her out. The brother went half the way and saw her off. However, she was accorded a hearty welcome at the mother-in-law's house. The brother-in-law (elder brother of the husband) gave her room to pass. The younger brother-in-law cut jokes with her. The father-in-law welcomed her. The mother-in-law scattered sacred rice on her head. The sister-in-law took the best of the four saries presented by her father. But the husband was indifferent.

Construction of plot

The ballad presents a detailed account of the farewell scene. The bride is bidden farewell at her parent's house and is welcome at her father-in-law's. It attempts to present an account of each member's attitude towards her, in both the houses, on that occasion.

37. Jemā Melāṇi (Jemā Takes Farewell), Utkal Gāūli Gita, p. 5, 26 verses.

The moment of farewell approaches. Jemā cries bitterly. The neighbours console her. She takes farewell from her mother, aunts, her father. uncle, father's elder brother, maternal uncle and aunt, elder. brother, brother's wife and girl-mates. The brother consoles her saying that he will be at the mother-in-law's house to bring her soon. The brother's wife advises

her regarding her manners at her mother-in-law's house. All of them bid her farewell.

Construction of plot

Jemā is described to be taking farewell from each relation who utters some parting words. The farewell scene is depicted in a graphic manner. Use of dialogues enliven the scene.

38. Rāija Jāka Galu Andhāra Kari (You Turned the Whole World Dark). Palli Giti Saṃcayana—I, p. 9, 24 verses.

The mother suffers birth-pangs for fourteen days and unconscious at the time of delivery. Her husband loses hope of her life. How unfortunate the child is ! His uncle does not attend the ceremony on the fifth day of birth to twist the ceremonial thread. However, she performs other rituals like Ṣaṭhipujā, uṭhiāri, etc., and christens the boy as Nārana. But to her great dismay the child falls ill on a Thursday. She takes all measures within her reach to cure it. She calls in a number of *Baidyas* and *Baniās*. But nobody is able to detect the cause of its illness. She promises to sacrifice two goats to goddess Sidheśwari, a *basaṇi* (an ornament for nose) to the village deity, *Rāuta* to Raghunāth, a black cloth to Hengulāi, *Jāūlmudi* to Jāgulāi, betel-leaf to Pāneśwari, a poet of copper to lord Śiva, hair (child's) to the god, Bāleśwara and *Ṣola pujā* to Satyapira. But none comes to her rescue. The child passes away on Friday leaving the whole world in dark.

Construction of plot

In the ballad the mother pours out her heart at the premature death of her only son. She recollects incidents from his birth to death. A considerable portion of the ballad has been spared to describe the birth pangs and the subsequent troubles. Her reflections on ornaments meant for the boy, depicted in a short space, appeal to the heart. Her frustrated attempts to save the child, especially her promises of offerings to several deities, has been presented in detail.

39. Sunā Candramāku mo Kāla Daṃśilā (A Serpent Bites my Golden Honey), Palli Giti Saṃcayana—I, p. II. 17 verses.

The husband dies at the wife's five months' pregnancy. She duly observes rituals like *pancuāti*, *Śathighara*, *uthiāri*, etc. Meanwhile, seven years pass by. She tries to observe the *brataghara* (the rituals for insinuation) as perfectly as possble. For that, she introduces a crown made of cork plant and sounding of drums which were not customary in the family. She invites a good number of people lest anybody's dissatisfaction may do harm to the child. Still then, perhaps the 'unquenched breath' of someone causes the catastrophe. The golden moon (son) is bitten by a serpent.

Construction of plot

The ballad opens with the protagonist's recollections of the birth of her child and the rites following the event. Observation of *brataghara* (rituals for insinuation) has been described in detail. Immediately after, the incident of death has been mentioned in a single verse. The same has been repeated in the subsequent verse that marks the close of the ballad.

40. Kete dina Bancibi Hoi Nirmākhi (How Long Can I Live This Wretched Life ?), Palli Giti Saṃcayana—I, p. 53, 33 verses.

A house wife decides to commit suicide on a trifling family matter. But she conceals her feelings and performs all household duties in a feigned jolly mood. The husband has forgotten all about the incident. He goes out in the evening to attend a function and returns late at night. A few hours before evening, the lady proceeds with her plan. She combs her hair, puts vermilion on the forehead, smears turmeric on her body and colours her feet with lac-dye She takes the child on her lap, gives an ornament from her nose for getting sweets in exchange. The child sleeps happily with the ornament in hand. The husband returns tired and goes to bed soon. Now the lady wears a blue *sari* and goes out to the

nearest railway track. She commits suicide under a speeding train. The husband is arrested by the police and presented before a judge. He does not like to save his own life ; but appeals to be sentenced to death for the crime he has comitted. The judge, hearing everything, declares him innocent and sends him to be reunited with his lonely child. He returns home, sits down and faints in bereavement. As he gets back his senses, he starts crying bitterly.

Construction of plot

The opening of the ballad refers to the domestic quarrel. Preparation of the lady for committing suicide, the husband's unawareness, the fatal incident, the enquiry, the arrest and the release have been narrated in proper sequence. The parting gestures of the lady from the child and the sudden outburst of the pangs of the husband at the close of the ballad, are charged with emotions.

41. Paduāra Jalaḍubi (Padmā Drowns), Palli Giti Saṃcayana —I, p. 55, 17 verses.

Padmā goes out on a pilgrimage to Puri without the consent of her husband, who is ill. He has to cook for himself. On her return, he is angry with her and beats her black and blue. Her back gets swollen ; she decides to commit suicide by drowning herself. She fondles her child and leaves the house. She prays to the goddess of water not to betray her and then drowns herself. Returning from school the boy asks about his mother. The husband and his younger brother find her floating in the pond. She was pregnant for five months. The corpse is now excessively swollen. Her father is sent for. The police come and get the clue from the boy alluring him with sweets. The police want to take the case to the court at Puri. But the husband borrows a bag of silver coins from the wine-dealer and bribes them.

Construction of plot

At the very opening of the ballad, Padmā's decision to visit Puri, in spite of her husband's illness, is described as the will of Fate. The narration is straightforward. It is full of dialogues. But in most cases connecting information before introducing dialogues are lacking.

B. Customs and Rituals

42. Sati (The Faithful Lady), Utkal Gāūli Gita, p. 19, 23 verses.

The wife is in a melancholic, meditative mood as the condition of her husband worsens in sick bed. At last he expires, and she determines to be a *Sati*. The sons, daughter, daughter-in-law, sisters-in-law and the neighbours persuade her not to forsake them. The son and daughter-in-law fall at her feet. She wishes them a worthy son. She entreats her son not to neglect Cānda, his sister. The elder brother-in-law also dissuades her from taking the fatal step. There is beating of drums. The on-lookers cheer her up. The lady stands near the funeral pyre of her husband and hands over the ancestral lamp to her son. The village-folk are sure that seven generations of her will find place in heaven.

Construction of plot

The ballad opens with an intimation of the lady's concern at her husband's illness. It advances through the mention of his death and her preparation for self-immolation in his burning pyre. Her heart-rending farewell from all kith and kin follows next. The description of her parting from her son has been prolonged. The ballad closes with the description of her advancement towards the blazing fire, to the beating of drums winning all sympathy and admiration of onlookers.

III. MYTH, HISTORY AND TRADITION.

43. Kalā Pāṇi (The Banishment), Palli Giti Saṃcayana—I, p. 41, 29 verses.

The story describes the banishment of King Dibya Siṃha Deva of Puri in the year 1878 A. D. It is foretold that he is to suffer from leprosy and be banished. Now it comes to be true. Some people belonging to the enemy's group torture and kill a man and lay the corpse beside the palace-wall. The king is held responsible for the crime by British rulers. The king is tried and is at last sentenced to banishment. He entrusts a friend, Jenāmaṇi, with the responsibility of the royal household and instructs the queen regarding the management, property and inheritance. He takes farewell from all his kith and kin. The messenger arrives and informs that he is to get ready for exile. The king faints.

Construction of plot

The opening of the ballad refers to the misfortune of the king with reference to a forecast of some fortune-teller. The murder and the trial are then reported. The description of farewell from the queen-mother and his queen form a major part of the ballad. The ballad closes with a mention of the arrival of the British official to execute the banishment.

44. Rāṇiṅka Śoka (The Queen's Lament), Palli Giti Saṃcayana —I, p. 45, 13 verses.

The queen is agrieved that gods do not have pity on her. She advised the king not to indulge in any sort of conflict with the ruler but he paid no heed to that. To get rid of the accusation he performed a *homa* in vain. One Rādhu Beherā, who belongs to the enemy's group passes satirical remarks on him and boastfully walks about in front of the palace. Neighbours also enjoy the fun. She thinks that the king must have grown weaker now due to want of sleep on rough bed. She is afraid of entering the large halls in the palace where the royal beds are lying empty. Ten years' efforts to save him end in vain. She is ready to part with all her property to get her husband back.

When the queen weeps bitterly, her daughter and nieces console her to take it is as a decree of fate.

Construction of Plot

The poem opens with a religious note. The religious sacrifice which ended in vain and the mockery of the people have been referred to in brief. The hostility of Rādhu Beherā has been mentioned in particular. Next, a brief reflection on the condition of the king in prison follows. There is a sense of remorse at the failure of all her attempts to save the king. The ballad rounds up with a reference to the will of fate.

45. Deula Tolā (Construction of the Temple), 518 verses.

King Indradyumna sends messengers in all directions to bring him news about Nilamādhaba (Jagannātha), the Lord. One brahmin messenger, Vidyāpati, comes across a Śavara-village in a dense forest, stays there for a few days and is compelled to marry Lolitā, the daughter of his host, Biśwābasu, the Śabara-chief who worshipped the Lord. Biswabasu boasts of being a descendant of Jārā Savara who killed Basudeva (Krishna) at one shot.

Lolitā persuades her father to show the deity of his worship to her husband. Biśwābasu agrees, but leads him there with his eyes bandaged. Lolitā advises her husband to scatter mustard seed along the road as he proceeds to the Lord. The seeds sprout within a couple of days indicating the path. Following the same path Vidyapati returns to his king There after the king marches with his vast army to capture the Śabara-chief and win his Lord. The king feels proud of the rare opportunity of possessing Lord Nilamadhaba for his worship. The Lord learns this and disappears. As the king starts torturing the Śabara, the Lord speaks from heaven that He would be found as soon as the king constructs a temple.

The king constructs a magnificient temple at Puri and in order to sanctify it he approaches lord Brahmā, the greatest of brahmins, in heaven.

There he is delayed for a few moments as he finds Brahmā in deep meditation.

Meanwhile, hundreds of years pass by on earth as one moment of Brahmā is equivalent to hundreds of years of men and in the mean while the great temple is buried under sand. It is, however. unearthed by Gālamādhaba, the king of Mālaba.

When Indradyumna returns from heaven with Brahmā, a quarrel ensues between Indradyumna and Gālamādhaba, both of them claiming right over the temple. They go to Bhuṣaṇḍa kāka, the ancient crow who has seen many Brahmās living and dying. Gālamādhaba discards him as witness as the latter taunts him. They go to the tortoises in the Indradyumna tank who flee away at the sight of king Indradyumna. They disclose that they carried stone to the great temple and turned to tortoises because of the pressure and that Inrdadyumna is the real builder. Brahmā blesses Indradyumna, who is worshipped still on the western side of the temple. But Gālamādhaba is cursed and remains unworshipped outside it.

On the king's penance, the Lord appears in a dream and bids him to construct the image of Jaganātha out of a log of wood floating in sea at Bānkimuhāṇ. King Indradyumna is unable to drag the log with all the might of his army. At God's bidding, the log is placed on a cart of gold. Only when Bidyāpati the brahmin and Viśwābasu the savara drag the cart, it moves.

No carpenter can pierce the log. At last the Lord appears in the guise of an old brahmin and promises to do it. But he is to be shut inside the temple for twentyone days without interruption. As no sound is heard from inside, the queen, apprehending his death, insists on the king to open the temple-door on the fourteenth day. The king gives in. Consequently the image of Jagannātha remains incomplete and the carpenter disappears.

Indradyumna observes penance again lying on a straw bed. The Lord appears in dream, consoles him and lays out the rituals to be observed in the temple. The brahmins and śavaras, the descendants of Vidyapati and Viśvābasu are given equal importance in the service of the Lord in the temple. At last the Lord offers a boon to the king at which he begs that he should have no progency to claim right over the temple which may spoil all his *dharma*

Construction of plot

The ballad opens with an invocation to Lord Jagannātha, Vināyak and Hanumanta. The main plot of the story follows then. It is presented as being told by Śukamuni to Parikṣita. The first part of the story ranges between the expedition of Bidyāpati and construction of the temple. In the second part, the Gālamādhaba episode has been presented. Appearance of the log, failure of carpenters and the construction of the image by Lord himself follow next. In another appearance, the Lord sums up the rites to be observed in the temple. The story closes with the prayer of Indradyumna to render him childless. As per the colophon, the writer of this ballad is Bishnu Das.

46. Hara Pārvatiṅka Pade Śaraṇa (Salutations to Hara and Parvati), Palli Giti Saṃcayana—II, p. 44, 73 verses.

Goddess Pārvati is worried as her house is being filled with sand. The husband is indifferent. The goddess gets angry with him. There is no cooking that day. Lord Śiva, on his return, is not greeted. The helpless husband flatters her of her omnipotent power. This appeases her anger. She complains that he does not mind the household affairs while a sparrow does. The lord reports that in case of her discontentment in a yogi's house, she may seek a divorce. The goddess keeps quiet. The lord, however, sends a symbolic garland of flowers with an order to all sections of people far and near, to gather and clean sand from the temple. The order is readily carried out. Thousands of people irrespective of caste and

creed assemble and clear the sand within the twinkling of an eye. Daily worship is arranged and the goddess is happy.

Construction of plot

The ballad opens with an invocotion to Śiva. Pāravati's anger and Śiva's flattery take a considerable space. Proclaimation of Śiva's order, and clearance of sand are described briefly. The poem ends with a happy note portraying the lord and his spouse being worshipped united in conjugal love. The colophon recommends the singer a place in heaven and redeems the listeners of all sin.

47. Dhaga Rāmāyaṇa (Folk-Rāmāyaṇa), Palli Giti Saṃcayana —II, p. 95, 762 verses.

The followers of Rāma assemble on the sea-shore and plan to cross the ocean. At last Hanumān (a monkey, follower of Ram) voluntarily accepts the task. He flies to Lankā and causes a stir over there, but is soon swallowed up by the mother of Rāhu. But as he utters the name of Rāma, his body swells up and the demoness bursts fortn. He enters a herd of cows in the guise of a cat, strikes the goddess of Lanka down and proceeds forward. He searches for Sitā in various apartments in the guise of a black bee. He locates her in the Aśok forest. Sitting on a Śinsapā tree, he narrates the story of Rāmāyaṇa from the birth of Rāma uptil his arrival in Laṅkā. He introduces himself to her with a ring and some secret words from Rāma. In return, Sitā sends her *mathamaṇi* (ornament for head) with a prayer to rescue her soon. Hanuman destroys the Madhuban-grove. In a series of confronatations. he kills a number of giants. Rāvana sends his son Akṣhoy Kumār to subdue him. But he is killed in a duel with Hanuman. At last Indrajit held him captive with the help of *Nāgapāśa* (snake-noose). Hanumān is tortured by a jubilant mass of demons. Ravana's brother Bibhiṣan, a holy giant, pleads to let the messenger go. But he himself is discarded. Hanu's tail is wrapped with a huge quantity of clothes and fire is set to that. Hanuman jumps from roof

to roof and burns the whole of Laṇkā. After turning Laṇkā to ashes, Hanumān crosses the ocean and rejoins his companions. He delivers the message to Rāma with the token from Sitā. Rama's vast army arrives at the sea-shore. Bibhiśan joins Rāma. A bridge is constructed across the ocean. Ravaṇa is annoyed at this and threatens the gods, his servants, with dire consequences. Mandodari, the queen of Rāvaṇ, is a pious lady and is indifferent to the fuss.

Construction of plot

The ballad is presented as a tale told by Śiva to Pārvati. The theme is from the Rāmāyāṇa. The opening depicts the followers of Rāma assembled on the sea-shore planning to cross the ocean. Hanumān plays the central role. His feats are narrated in detail. In the description of the nocturnal scene in Lankā and the appearances as well as behaviour of some demons, we find display of poetic imagination. The story, then, advances through a rapid narration of Rāvaṇa's dream, Lankādevi's warning, Rāvaṇa's threat to Sitā and Hanumān's revelation of self-identity, the burning of Lankā, etc., as in the Rāmāyaṇa.

48. Śri Rāma Abhiṣeka (Coronation of Śri Rāma), Utkal Gāñli Gita, p. 26, 66 verses.

King Daśaratha is old. He arranges for the coronation of Śri Rāma, Rāma conveys the good news to his wife Sitā. All are happy. But Mantharā, the maid-servant of Kaikei (the step-mother of Rāma) hatches out a crooked plot. King Daśaratha had promised her three boons. She wants the fulfilment of those now. The king has no way out. Rāma has to go to the forest for fourteen years. The younger brother, Laxmaṇa, and Sitā follow him. The citizens bid him farewell with a heavy heart. Mother Kauśalyā's sorrow knows no bounds. King Daśaratha dies of the shock.

Bharata, the son of Kaikei, returns from his uncle's house. He is bewildered by the situation created by his mother. He

too follows Śri Rāma. But, on his advice, Bharata returns home with his wooden sandals to worship and rule the kingdom in his name.

Construction of plot

The ballad opens with a description of preparations for the coronation and Rāma's joy. The situation is reversed by the intrigue of Mantharā and Kaikei. It is followed by the reactions of king Daśaratha. The long description of the farewell-scene and the appeal of Bharata to Sri Rāma that follow next are charged with emotions. The last part of the ballad portrays the trio (Rama, Sita and Laxman) in a hamlet in the forest.

49. Sitā Bibhā (Sitā's Wedding), Palli Giti Saṃcayan—I, p. 13, 118 verses.

The hero who breaks the bow of Śiva is to marry Sitā. King Janaka (Sita's father) invites several princes though he is partial to Rāmachandra. Rāma arrives with pomp and ceremony. He breaks the great bow and proceeds to the sacred altar for marriage. Janaka offers him Sitā with a lot of dowry. Arrangements are made for the honeymoon night. Early next morning, Daśaratha bids Rāma to prepare for his return journey to Ayodhyā. Sitā's mother sends her off with parting advice. King Janaka sees the party off.

Sitā is welcomed by Kauśalyā, the queen-mother, on her arrival in Ayodhyā.

Construction of plot

The promise of king Daśaratha and the arrangements for *Swayambar* (selection of bridegroom from among the princes present) have been briefly described. The main action starts with the arrival of Rāma. The breaking of the great bow, which forms a pivotal point in the episode, has been dealt with only in two verses, one of which has been spared to note the reaction of other kings. The matrimonial rites have been

presented in detail. The decoration of the nuptial room by maid servants absorbs the poet's attention. The bed room scene has been flashed for a while. The ballad closes with a rapid narration of the parting moments.

50. Sitānka Ayodhyā Bije (Sitā Leaves for Ayodhyā). Utkala Gāūli Gita, p. 33, 16 verses.

King Daśaratha arouses his son, Rāma, and the daughter-in-law, Sitā, to get ready for the journey to Ayodhyā. Sitā's mother suppresses her own emotions lest Sitā should cry. The mother remembers Sitā's childhood and the anxiety she has passed through. With the heaving of a sigh she bids the daughter farewell. After conventional rituals, the party leaves for Ayodhyā.

Construction of plot

The plot advances through Daśaratha's bidding to Rama to prepare for the journey, the farewell and their arrival in Ayodhyā. Amplification of emotions of the mother at the parting, forms the major portion of the poem. The author is some Balarām Dās as mentioned in the colophon.

IV. POPULAR BALLADS IN OLD EPICS

51. Khaṇikāra Tasakara Brutānta (Khanikāra, the Thief) Sāralā Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, Part I, p. 521.

Rādhā, the beloved of Śri Krisṇa, is alone at home. The mother-in-law has left for her daughter's house and the villagers have gone to the king with their supply of milk. Rādhā sends Sahaja Sundari, an old lady, as a messenger to Krisṇa. She puts on the clothes and ornaments of Rādhā and proceeds on her mission. The jingling of her anklets arouse Krishna's passion. Mistaking her for Rādhā, Krisṇa jumps down from the *Kadamba* tree and seduces her. But, soon, Krisṇa realizes the mistake and repents. Sadly enough, during the moments of excitement, even the clothes are

exchanged. But on her return to Rādhā, the cunning old lady conceals the blasphemous act and gives ridiculous answers to the queries of Rādhā regarding her cloth, distorted hair, dusty body and displaced ornaments. However, in due course, a child is born to the old lady. He is called Khaṇikāra. He serves as an attendant of Kriṣṇa at the will of the old lady.

Construction of plot

The ballad is included in the first canto of the Mahābhārata in the section 'Khaṇikāra Tasakara Brutānta' and has been continued in the subsequent section. This being part of an epic, description prevails over narration. The poet sermonizes through the protagonist.

52 Baḍa Deula Tolā (Construction of the Great Temple). Sāralā Mahābhārata, Muṣali parva, p. 87.

King Gāla Mādhaba sends messengers in search of the Lord (the half-burnt heart of Kriṣṇa) in all directions. A brahmin, Bāsudeva, traces out the Lord in a dense forest quoting friendship with Jārā Śavara. The brahmin brings news to the king, who destroys the Śavaras to secure the Lord. The Lord, however, agrees to accept his worship at Jāmanika, but curses him to be childless for killing the Śavaras.

Meanwhile, many years pass by. King Indradyumna, while paying a visit to the Nila Sundara hill of Jāmanika, learns the story and decides to construct a temple on the hill. The minister, Sidha Anukula, encourages him by assuring that the remains of Lord Kriṣṇa's body can be found out by sustained effort. A strange stone-cutter appears before the king and takes the charge of constructing the temple. A brahmin, Biśvāvasu, sanctifies the site when the construction starts. The temple is built of stone to three palm-trees' height. King Indradyumna observes fast and prays to Yama who directs him to Mārakaṇḍa Brahmā for his advice about the deity to be installed in the temple. Mārakanda Brahmā sends him to Jārā Śavara. The king, courting his friendship, begs of the

Śavara that the deity be taken to his temple and worshipped by both. According to the will of God, both of them keep watch at the 'Rohiṇi Kuṇḍa', where the Lord appears as a floating log of wood Jārā Śavara, at his will, is confined to the temple to shape the images. He is assisted by Brahmā and Biśvakarmā, the divine carpenter. Both brahmins and Savaras, the descendants of Basu and Jārā, are employed in the Lord's service.

Construction of plot

The story is scattered in five chapters, interspersed with several other episodes. The poet provides an interesting account of the hill. Nila Sundara, which was spared by Rāma Candra at the time of constructing the Setubandha, the bridge across the ocean. The episode of Gālamādhaba and that of Indradyumna overlap each other.

53. Suhāṇi Kanyā Bibahā (Judhiṣṭhira Marries Suhāṇi Kanyā), Sarala Mahābhārata, Swargārohaṇ Parva, p. 12.

The Pāṇḍavas renounce their kingdom and arrive at Dharmapur on the bank of the river Baitaraṇi of Orissa. Hari Sāhu, the trader, meets them along with his fifteen-year-old daughter. To the amazement of Judhiṣṭhira, the girl is still unmarried as she is destined to die at the time of marriage. Hari Sāhu, in order to get rid of the loathsome sin, offers the girl to Judhiṣṭhira in marriage. Judhiṣṭhira complains of old age, but is encouraged by his brothers. As the marriage ceremony makes headway, the messengers from Yama appear to seize her life. But they are all chained by Arjuna. At last Yama himself sets forth to do the job Arjuna, who once helped in curing his leprosy, earnestly requests him to spare the life of Suhāṇi but in vain. This enrages the hero, who fastens him to a mountain till the marriage is over. Yudhiṣṭhira explains the whole matter to Hari Sāhu, who wants to have a *darsan* of Yama. Arjuna now sets Yama free with the permission of Hari Sāhu, his new father-in-law. Yama, on his

part, grants boons to Hari Sāhu and advises him to maintain honesty in trade.

Construction of plot

The narration is straightforward. Through the dialogue between Yudhiṣṭhira and Hari Sāhu and Yudhiṣṭhira's consultations with his brothers. 'we are not told about things happening ; we are shown them happening'. The arrangement for marriage and Arjuna's appeal to Yama have been described in considerable detail. An interesting portion in the piece is Yama's instructions to trades-men.

54. Kakuā Bhaya (The Fear of Kokuā), Sāralā Mahābhārata, Muṣali Parva, p. II.

Śrikriṣṇa devises a means to destroy the Yadu dynasty. He fabricates an idea of Kokuā, a huge flying creature of seven eyes and unfathomable belly who swallows everybody irrespective of man and woman. The rumour spreads. The Yādavas get frightened at this. Even during daytime, they dream of the Kokuā and raise alarms. One night, while sleeping, they presume to have actually seen the Kokuā and chase it with cudgels up to the bank of the Yamunā. When the *Kadamba* tree is struck by their cudgels, a strange fluid issues forth. They drink the juice and get intoxicated. Losing all sense of discrimination, they begin to fight among themselves. They remember their feats in the great war of Mahābhārata which turn them still more devilish. They engage in a deadly battle unscrupulously using cudgels, swords, bows and arrows and even sticks collected from nearby bush. Thus a great dynasty becomes extinct.

Construction of plot

The ballad first relates the plan of Lord Kriṣṇa and the spread of rumour in Dwārikā. The description of the Kokuā has been presented as a reply to a query of Devaki, the Lord's mother. The fear and bewilderment of the Yādavas have been

described in considerable detail. The ludicrous infighting and extinction of the Yādavas have been treated with similar keenness.

55. Śrikrisṇa Touches the Feet of an Ass, Sarala Mahābhārata, Sabhā Parva, Part I, p. 40.

Śrikrisṇa proceeds to Magadha along with Arjuna and Bhima in disguise to subdue Jarāsandha. They manage to pass through three gates guarded by the son of Jarāsandha. a magic bell and a 'Sālmali' tree, respectively. The fourth gate is guarded by an ass that brays aloud at the sight of an enemy.

Even when Śrikrisṇa and his companions are at a great distance, the ass starts braying. Arjuna gets puzzled. But Śrikrisṇa stretches his hand from there and introduces his conch into the gaping mouth of the ass. The braying is converted into a sweet sound of the conch. But looking at the stretched hand, the ass recognizes him as Krisṇa and asks the purpose of his coming. Śri Krisṇa, unfolding his purpose, entreats it to stop braying. The ass is willing to oblige on a condition. He must touch its feet. Bhima disapproves of such a humiliating term. But Śri Krisṇa observes that such humiliation is welcome for fulfilment of their mission. He touches the feet of the ass that dies instantly. A celestial chariot descends to carry it to the heaven.

Construction of plot

The story is told in a 'hurried, summary fashion'. It advances through a description of the approach of the three brave men, the obstacle they face, the understanding with the ass and achievement of the goal. The poet then proceeds to unfold the mystery behind this surmising gesture of Lord Krishna. The reason is attributed to a curse used against the ass in its previous birth.

56. Siṃha Srugāla Kathā (The Tale of the Lion and the Fox), Sabhā parva, Part II, p. 394.

A lion, a tiger, a fox and a mongoose become friends. They kill a deer and agree to a fair distribution of it. But the fox plays a trick. He sends the other three to take bath. He remains behind to guard the booty. When the lion returns, the fox tell him that the tiger came first and has already tasted the flesh. The lion considers it beyond its dignity to eat the leftover and leaves for some other game. When the tiger returns, the fox tells him that the lion is filled with fury and refuses to take the food as it is touched by the tiger and the fox. The tiger gets frightened to know the lion's displeasure and leaves the place. The mongoose returns after bath. The fox pounces upon it at which it flees for life. Then the fox alone gets the whole share.

Construction of plot

Although it is included in an epic, it is narrated in a summary fashion. It is told in brief as it is put as an example in the course of an argument.

57. Alasuā Bibaraṇa (All About an Idle Man). Sāralā Mahābhāratā, Udyoga Parva, p. 225.

Melaka is idle. He is a wood-cutter and knows no other means of livelihood. Once, in autumn, it rains incessantly throughout the day. Compelled by his wife, he, however, sets out in search of wood in the afternoon. But on the outskirts of the town, as he finds a platform, he lies down and falls asleep there. When the conch is blown in the evening, he gets up and worries about wood. Suddenly he hits upon a plan. He remembers that the images in the temple are made of wood. He enters the temple and as he prepares to strike the image with his axe, Lord Viṣṇu Himself appears before him and asks him to forbear. On the Lord's query, Melaka boldly replies that he obeys no god He must cut the wood to have his morsel of daily bread. The Lord gets frightened and promises to provide him with adequate supply of rice and money daily, which he can find in a

secluded place near the temple. Melaka's wife collects the ration accordingly, everyday.

Ananta is Melaka's neighbour. Lilāvati, the wife of Ananta, learns the secret from Melaka's wife and persuades her husband to adopt the same way to get rid of poverty. Thus compelled by his wife, poor Ananta, one night, enters the temple with an axe. But as he prepares to strike the wood-image, the Lord appears in an awe-inspiring figure and threatens to pierce his chest. Ananta is astonished at this strange behaviour. On his query the Lord explains to him that He has to satisfy Melaka because he is stupid and even gods are afraid of stupid fellows. But good and honest people like Ananta, having knowledge of scriptures, should not indulge in unholy activities. The Lord further confides him that Melaka will certainly rot in the hell after death and Ananta will be amply rewarded in the next birth for his pious living though in the midst of misery.

Construction of plot

The story is narrated by Śakuni to Judhiṣṭhira persuading him to lead an honest life even in misery and go to the forest leaving the crown to Duryodhana. The characters of Melaka and Ananta are set in a lively contrast in two interconnected episodes.

58. Satya Āmba Bibaraṇa (Manago of the Truth), Sāralā Mahābhārata, Bana Parva, Part I, p. 567.

Duryodhana sends four Brahmin-messengers to trace the whereabouts of the Pāṇḍavas, who are staying in concealment in the forest. The messenger, Gauramukha, who cannot recognize the Pāṇḍavas, must ask them for a mango in autumn to be sure of his success.

Gauramukha dresses himself as a hermit and actually meets the Pāṇḍavas in a dense forest and when offered food, he asks for a ripe mango. The Pāṇḍavas do not find a single fruit in that cursed forest in spite of all their searches.

Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of the Pāṇdavas, seeks the help of Śrikriṣṇa. Srikriṣṇa gives him a mango-seed and tells him that each one of them must speak out one's secrets in order to get mangoes instantaneously of that seed.

Yudhiṣṭhira speaks out about the purity of his heart. That causes the sprouting of the mango-seed. Disclosure of Bhima's secret of his love of food, slumber, war and sex causes growth of the mango-plant with thick foliage. Similarly as Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva speak out their secrets, actually a few fleshy, green mangoes dangle from the branches. Now comes the turn of Draupadi. The truthful lady discloses that women are always attracted to heroic and handsome youths. Consequently, though she is wedded to five brothers, she feels attracted to Karṇa, the sixth brother of the Pāndavas (an illegitimate son of their mother). The mangoes ripen at the utterance of such a naked truth.

As Gauramukha proceeds with the mango to Indraprastha to present the strange fruit to king Duryodhana, Śrikriṣṇa meets him on the way. Pretending to try the genuineness of the fruit. He catches hold of it and tells utter lies. The mango of the Truth disappears at this.

Construction of Plot

The narration is straightforward. The attire of Gauramukha befitting to a staunch ascetic has been described in detail. The dialogue between Gruramukha and Yudhiṣṭhira and the intense search for mangoes by the Pāndavas have been presented in a similar fashion. A series of lies uttered by Kriṣṇa make the narrative interesting.

59. Dāni Karṇa (Karṇa, the Great Giver), Sāralā Mahābhārata Bana Parva, Part I, p. 256.

Lord Śrikriṣṇa proceeds in the guise of a brahmin to test Karṇa, the great giver. Karṇa is promise-bound to feed him that day. The strange brahmin wants the cooked flesh of Biśikeśana, the only son of Karṇa, for his diet. The

boy must be killed by Karṇa himself and cooked by his mother. The great Karṇa hesitates for a while, but is encouraged by his worthy son to slay him for the sake of the truth. Thus the boy is killed and cooked by the mother with tearful eyes The head of the boy, which the mother had kept aside, is brought out, crashed and cooked by her at the will of the brahmin. The meal is served in four leaf-plates. The parents are asked to take the same flesh first lest they should have added poison to the same. But when asked about the fourth plate, the brahmin replies that it is meant for their boy Biśikeśana. The parents are puzzled at this reply. As commanded by the brahmin, the mother calls out the name of the boy thrice, aloud, at the gate and to the astonishment of everybody, the boy appears on a horse back. Lord Kriṣṇa discloses His own identity and accepts Biśikeśana as one of his attendants.

Construction of plot

The ballad forms almost a chapter in the epic. A colophon occurs at the end of the description of the brahmin's appearance. The dialogue between the brahmin and Karṇa, especially the mode of the former's approach, is marked with ingenuity. First he asks for a dinner to his satisfaction. He, then, limits it to human flesh. When the king is reluctantly preparing to provide him with the same, the brahmin specifically asks for the flesh of his own son, that too killed by him and cooked by the mother. He further wishes that the meal be shared by the parents.

60. Bābanā Bhutara Bibaraṇa (The Tale of the Ghost, Bābanā), Saralā Mahābhārata, Udyoga Parva, p. 167.

The city Gyānpur, on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrā, is a cursed land. After death, nobody attains salvation there. Each soul turns into a ghost. All the ghosts dwell on the river bank. A peasant, Sudraka, from some western country, settles in the city and is permitted to grow sesame in

a patch of land. But when Sudraka proceeds with oxen and workers to plough the field, the ghosts frighten them. Sudraka knows their trick. He catches hold of them all by means of a magic net. The ghosts surrender to him and agree to supply sixty *maunds* of sesame seed as ransom.

Bābanā, the king of ghosts, was away. On his return, he blames the ghosts for their cowardice and proceeds to teach Sudraka a lesson in spite of their dissuation. He brings the son of Sudraka under his influence. But Sudraka instantly captures him with the help of his magic net. Sudraka now demands three times the quantity of sesame seed agreed upon before. It is a question of prestige on the part of Bābanā. Hence he requests Sudraka to allow him to supply the same quantity of sesame seed as settled before. He is, however, ready to husk the seed properly as penalty. Bābanā has not listened to the sound advice of his fellow ghosts and hence suffers thus.

The story has been presented as an example by Bhānumati who persuades her husband Duryodhana to offer a patch of land to the Pāṇḍavas.

Construction of plot

The ballad opens with a brief description of the cursed land. The arrival of the peasant and his decision to plough the land has been narrated in a summary fashion. The chaos caused by the attack of the ghosts upon the ploughing party has been depicted in a humorous vein. The dialogue between the ghost-king and his reluctant followers absorbs interest.

61. Bāla Brahmacāri O Sunḍhiāṇi Kathā (The Hermit and a Wine Dealer's Wife) Dānḍi Rāmāyaṇa, Ādikānḍa, p. 95.

The hermit observes penance in all austerity abstaining from worldly pleasure. He meditates upon God on the bank of the Gaṅgā. The wine dealer's wife happens to pass by that way. She is a paragon of beauty. The hermit falls in love with her and entreats her to oblige him. The lady invites him on a day of festivity.

The husband has been away to sell wine that day. The mother-in-law and her daughter have left to take a dip in the Gaṅgā. The hermit and the lady indulge in sex act. But right at the moment, the husband knocks at the door. The lady asks the hermit to hide in a large wine pot and welcomes her husband in. The mother-in-law and her daughter also return. The hermit finds no way to escape. Thinking the pot to be empty, the wine-dealer pours wine into it. The hermit is suffocated to death inside. But he is granted salvation by lord Śiva. Such is the influence of the holy land of Prayāga.

Construction of plot

The ballad opens with a brief description of the austere life led by the hermit. Some attention has been paid to depict the exquisite beauty of the wine dealer's wife. The dialogue between the hermit and the lady throbs with amorous emotions. The hermit's suffering inside the wine pot, decribed in a few lines, is touching. It inspires a sense of sympathy as well as humour. In fact, Śaṃkara and Gauri, the narrator and the listener of the ballad, respectively, burst into laughter.

62. Bakapakṣi Carita. (Rāma Blesses the Crane) Dāṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa, p. 50.

A crane on a tree-top mocks at Rāma for shedding tears foolishly and blaming God instead of blaming his own fate. Rāma narrates the awful tale of losing Sitā, his wife. The crane has the news. He has seen Rāvaṇa, the king of Lankā, kidnapping Sitā on a chariot. His feathers have turned white with her teardrops. The bird advises him to proceed straight to Lankā and wishes him good luck. Rāma is pleased with the bird. He offers him a boon. The crane relates how he has to pass very hard days during the rainy season. He should be granted such a boon that food would be available to him at the place of his sitting during that season. The boon is immediately granted. The she-crane is to supply it food during the rainy season and people are not to take fish at least on five specific days during that period. Further, Rāma exp'a'ns

to him that it will not be a sin on his part to live on his wife's earning as husband and wife form part of one and the same soul.

Construction of plot

Rāma introduces himself to the crane in the opening of the ballad. The dialogue between the two follows. The she-crane is just a listener. Not a kind word is spared by Rāma to her. She has been assigned a hard duty which her male counterpart abstains from.

63. The Blessed Squirrel, Dāndi Rāmāyaṇa, Sundarā Kāṇḍa, p. 118.

A bridge is constructed across the ocean. Rāmacandra orders his monkey-force to fill the rough surface of the bridge with sand and smoothen it. A pious squirrel shares the task. It plunges in sea-water, rolls down on sand and sprinkles the same on the bridge. Hanumān brings this to the notice of Rāma. Pleased with the little creature, the Lord praises its nobility and pats it fondly. The finger prints of Rāma can still be seen on the squirrel's back.

Construction of plot

The story is narrated briefly. The activity of the squirrel and the courteous behaviour of Rāma have been focussed prominently. Only a single line has been devoted to describing the appearance of the finger prints on the squirrel's back.

64. The Cock Wears a Crown, Dāndi Rāmāyana, Kiskindhyā Kāṇḍa, p. 66.

Rāmacandra wanders alone in the forest asking the trees and mountains the news of Sitā. Nobody replies to his query. The cock comes forward of its own and asks him why he is so woe-begone. Rāma speaks of his sorrow. The cock assures him that it is none but Rāvaṇa who has kidnapped Sitā. He has seen Rāvaṇa carrying her one day, at noon, to the South. He has

actually heard Sitā crying out that she is the wife of Rāma and is being stolen away by Rāvaṇa. He advises Rama to find out some means to rescue her. Rāma is pleased and offers him a boon. He is to wear a crown purple as sun-beam for ever. Killing a cock is to be treated as a crime against Rama. The mountain and the trees are cursed for their proud silence.

As Rāmá marches ahead, the cock is tempted to ask him for more boons. He pursues the Lord shouting 'cock-ka' which means 'Listen, O my Lord !' But Rāma proceeds without paying any heed to that.

Construction of plot

The ballad opens with the cock asking Rāma his identity. Rāma introduces himself just as a common man panting in the face of misfortune. The dialogues are marked with cordiality and sympathy. The fellowfeeling and warm sympathy of the cock has been contrasted with the mute apathy of the mountains and the trees. The closing part of the ballad imparts a moral teaching against temptation.

2

SALIENT FEATURES

I. TYPES OF BALLADS AND THEIR SINGERS

Classification of any national balladry is a hard task ; it may always remain imperfect. A classification, however, is essential for any systematic study.

Different scholars and folklorists have divided the Oriya ballads into different categories. Sri Chakradhar Mahapatra has classified those collected by him into three groups : 1. Ballads depicting the sorrow of a mother or daughter at the latter's marriage, 2. Ballads narrating the story of sufferings of brides at the houses of their mothers-in-law and 3. Religious ballads or story-poems (Mahapatra, C., 1959).

Dr. K. B. Das, on the other hand, has divided his collection of ballads into five groups : 1. Religious ballads 2. Ballads of complaint : (a) complaint of the bride against her mother--in-law (b) complaint of mother-in-law against the bride (c) complaint of the bride against the sister-in-law (husband's sister) 3. Elegiac ballads of (a) filial love (b) self immolation (c) farewell, 4. ballads depicting happy incidents like marriage 5. Miscellaneous (Das, K. B., 1958, p. 66)

Broadly speaking, both Mahapatra and Das have classified the ballads into two major groups, namely, Religious and Social according the their subject matter.

Dr. N. Misra has, however, tried to classify those according to their structure and form as major and minor. In his words "The major ballads are of national importance. They are fully developed and the story, the characters and the events are integrated in the narration. The minor ballads are deficient

in story ; the characters are not so well developed. They are sung by village girls' (Misra, N., 1965). Such divisions based on structure are bound to involve serious overlapping. There is no bar for the so-called minor ballads to attain national importance, nor for the girls to sing major ballads. In fact a number of major ballads are classed under 'Jhia bohunkā purāṇa Gitikā' (the puranic ballads of girls and housewives) by Chakradhar Mahapatra in his Utkal Gāūlī Gita. Hence the classifications made by Mahapatra and Das are more acceptable. However we may think of a synthesis of those and suggest two more additional groups, namely, ballads of myth, history and tradition and popular-ballads in old epics. Accordingly the Oriya folk-ballads have been grouped under the following heads for the present study :

1. Religious Ballads : (a) Yogi Gita (b) Oṣā (c) Brata (d) Pālā (e) Dāsakāṭhiā.
2. Social Ballads : (a) Family—(i) Strife (ii) Re-union, Love and Marriage (iii) Separation and Death—the Bāramāsi Ballads (b) Customs and Rituals.
3. Myth, History and Tradition.
4. Popular Ballads in Old Epics.

1. Religious Ballads.

a) Yogi Gita

The 'Nātha Yogi' usually sings the story of prince Govinda-chandra. The story is supposed to have originated in Bengal, but is now found in other parts of India too. Besides the tale of Govindachandra the Nath Yogi also sings ballads relating to birds and beasts and other stories with a view to imparting moral lessons.

b) Oṣā

The *Oṣā* or 'fast' means 'to live near God, Fire or Guru. In the Vedic age the devotees lived in the house of sacrifice without any food' (Das, K. B., 1953). Now the fasts are observed in a modified form. Ladies in villages observe those

at their own houses. Those are observed with all sanctity. The devotee goes without food, even without drink till the worship is over. The presiding deities in *Oṣā* are Mangalā, Saṭhi Dusāi, Tulasi, Laxmi, Durgā, the Sun-god, Dutibāhāna, etc. The Dhānamāṇikā *Oṣā* in which goddess Laxmi is worshipped, is the most popular one. In an *Oṣā*, the worship is done by ladies without the assistance of priests. The observance of *Oṣā* is believed to result in gain of wealth, long life, recovery from diseases, etc.

c) Brata

The Brata (vow) is observed by both the male and female. The gods and goddesses worshipped are Śiva and Pārvati, the Sun-god, Mahā Laxmi, the Snake-god, etc. As in the case of *Oṣā*, the devotee has to fast during observance of a *Brata*. At the end of the worship the devotee wears a sacred thread on the arm as a protection from dangers. This particular thread, yellow in colour with eight ties, is called 'Brata'. The missing of it reduces the wearer to misery and sufferings.

Dr. K. B. Dās has divided the *Bratas* into two groups : the 'sastric' and customary. In the former, the brahmin performs the worship in exchange of a sumptuous dinner and fees, but in the latter an old experienced lady does the job. The *Brata* is not observed singly as in the case of *Oṣā*. The ladies observe it in mutual co-operation. The male folk occasionally participate.

d) Pāḷā

The Pāḷā (Satyapir Pāḷā) is associated with the worship of lord Satyapir. The combination of two words in the term 'Satyapir' suggests that worship of the god was introduced in an effort to bring about a reconciliation between the Hindus and Muslims. According to Dr. D. C. Sen, the origin of the Satyapir cult is to be looked for in the 16th century (Sen, 1920 p 103) The attempts of Hussain Shāh, the Nawāb of Bengal, to bring about harmony between the two communities in the 16th century, is an example (Das. 1953). Both the words Satya—Nārāyaṇ and Satyapir are found to be used

without discrimination in the 'Pālās by Kavikarṇa. However, 'the two gods differ a bit in their character. Satyapir seems to be more exacting, whimsical and revengeful' than the other (Das, 1953, p. 78).

Satyapir and Kāncanpir, who are regarded as prophets by both Hindus and Muslims were once men of flesh and blood. By reason of their Hindu extraction and catholicity of views, they won the respect of both Hindus and Muslims though they themselves seem to have adopted the Muslim faith (Sen, 1920 p. 28).

The Pālās are presented in two forms, either by a group of singers or a priest. The singers' party consists of five to six members : the chief singer, his assistant, a drummer and other associates. They present the pālā through dance, music and gestures. It shows close affinity to the 'Kabigān' of Bengal. But this pālā, popularly known as 'ṭhiā pālā' in Orissa, has evolved to a scholarly literary discussion. The main plot they present are from 'Kavyas' (Epics or ballads) written by known poets and they freely quote from Oriya and Sanskrit classics. They invoke various gods and goddesses at the beginning of their performance known as the *bandanā*. Only the parayer that the chief singer mutters kneeling down on the stage, soon after his entrance, is to seek the grace of Satyanārāyaṇa.

Folk-ballads, if ever sung by these singers (there was always a scope for that), have not been recorded. Kavikarna's 'pala's now sung at the worship of Satyanarayan are supposed to be literary compositions and therefore have not been taken into discussion in this work.

e) Dāsakāṭhiā

A Dāsakāṭhiā performance is presented by two singers. They are singers, dancers and actors combined together. They play on the 'dāsakāṭhi', two pieces of wood used as a musical instrument, as they dance and sing. They present purānic episodes like 'Sitā-haraṇa', 'Kansa badha', etc. composed by folk-poets in simple language.

2. Social ballads

a) Family :

A major portion of social ballads has been composed on family affairs. Most of those are ballads of strife or 'accusation'. They narrate the continuous tortures that a bride faces in her mothere-in-law's house. Both the bride and mother-in-law accuse each other and find fault with each other's families and narrate incidents to substantiate their charges. The poems are soaked in tears.

Love-ballads are mainly based on filial love, love between a a sincere brother and a sister and between husband and wife. Examples of illicit love are rare though not completely absent. The ballad 'Adamuha hoi Tārā Kāhī pāī ruṣu' narrates a love episode between a married girl and her brother-in-law. The ballads on marriage describe the negotiations, arrangements, the performance of marriage and the delight or remorse of parents according to the suitability of the match.

Separation and death are common incidents in a family. A mother weeps narrating incidents that led to her son's death. The husband recapitulates circumstances in which the wife commits suicide. Somebody drowns leaving a sad story behind. Similarly there are ballads of separation. Girls take pitiful farewells from their parents to prison-like mother-in-law's. The husband goes to foreign lands to perform a religious rite or to earn his livelihood.

Some of the 'Bāramāsi' songs may be brought under this group. The 'Bāramāsi' is a form of poetry in which a maiden expresses her emotions with description of twelve months of the year as a background. She speaks of her own pitiable state in separation, the indifference of her husband. her waiting for a letter, etc. Sometimes the poem ends with a happy note of re-union.

b) Customs and rituals

In a conservative society pivoted on religion. customs and

rituals play a vital role. *Satidaeha* was an age-old custom in Orissa in which ladies used to enter the funeral fire of their husbands. If a lady died before her husband she was called *ahya*. Her corpse used to be carried to the graveyard with a specific sounding of drums and sprinkling of fried rice. Her bangles were shared by seven married women with husbands living Incidents relating to such customs and rituals form the subject matter of this group of ballads.

3. Myth, history and tradition

Myths answer various questions of folk-mind and solve contradictions in faith in a culture. Although the great Indian epics and scriptures are full of mythical stories, perhaps still more are current in the folk-tradition. Sometimes they may agree with those in the epics and scriptures but very often deviate from them. Accordingly, Lord Śrikriṣṇa frightens the '*gopi's* in the shape of a tiger to separate Rādhā from them and enjoy her. He sells bangles to the '*gopi's* and sends them home to fetch money leaving Rādhā with him as surety. Those are secular by nature though in a religious garb.

When history is forgotten, fancy begins to work. Many fantastic stories crop up around historical truth. Hence, according to tradition, the image of Lord Jagannāth was constructed by the divine carpenter Visvakarmā, the temple of Jagannāth was buried under sand to be unearthed by Gāla Mādhaba whose horse stumbled agninst its peak, the labourers who carried huge slabs of stones to the temple turned into tortoises and still live in the tank, Indradyumna, of Puri. In the same way lord Śiva and Pārvati engage in a quarrel over a domestic problem ; they have to clear up sand that covers their house, the temple of Lokanātheśwara in Puri.

A common villager pays taxes to the ruler and is satisfied with his own vocation. Yet he listens to the greater events of his country. the affairs in the royal house hold, warfare etc. with great interest. Hence events like the banishment of king Rāmacandra of Puri and the qeen's lament turn out to be favourite themes for folk-balladry.

4. Popular ballads in old epics

The Sāralā Mahābhārata by Sāralā Dāsa, a 15th century poet, contains a large number of folk-ballads. Obviously such ballads were current in the then Orissan society and the poet had to incorporate those in his great work to gain popular assent. Many other ballads extraneous to the Sanskrit Mahābhārata have been included in it.

In the epic Dāndi Rāmāyana of Balarām Dāsa who appeared in the 16th century, some such ballads can be traced. The ballads from the Sāralā Mahābhārata and Dāndi Rāmāyana, for the present purpose, have been selected after the studies of Pandit Gopināth Nanda Śarmā, (Sarma, 1964) and Dr. N. Misra (Misra, N., 1955).

Though such ballads deal with various subjects, they are classed under one group in the present study. The reason is, those are important only for their themes. The style and language are attuned to epic modes. In many cases the story of the ballad has been interspersed with other episodes or descriptions important to advance the epic-theme as a whole.

The ballads have some moral bearings. The language is simple though archaic words appear occasionally.

Singers of Ballads

'In folk-poetry, generally, the singer is an important figure. He is not a mere interpreter of the fixed literary text, but an active co-creator with a greater or smaller share in moulding and modifying the work in the process of interpretation' (Zbavital, 1963, p 133). There were traditionally two types of minstrels in Orissa, those attached to the courts of local nobility who also sang in the country-side and those who sang to the common people (Misra, N., 1964, p 59). The minstrels attached to royal courts are extinct with the abolition of that institution. Usually they sang eulogical verses to the kings and nobles or narrated deeds of ancient heroes (Misra, N., 1964). Unfortunately, no such ballad has so far been collected. Though the Nātha Yogi and Cakuliāpandā still sing to the common mass, only the formar sings ballads. The Nāthas belong to a religious sect preached by Gorekh Nāth in the

12th century (Maharty, B., 1964). Some of the Yogis make singing their profession. Others have some landed property too, to take care of. They take to singing in their leisure hours to earn a part of their living. They use *Kendara*, a musical instrument, as an accompaniment to their song. The religious ballads like Oṣā Brata and Pālā are sung by the priests after the worship is over The ploughman, too, while at work, sings ballads alongwith other songs. The Dāsakāṭhiā singers present ballads in a dramatic fashion. The social ballads, especially those centring round family, are usually sung by ladies. They sing those either to their female companions or to their lonely selves. Some short ballads, especially of beasts and birds, are sung to children. Infact a good ballad is sung by everybody.

II SOCIETY AND RELIGION

Like folk-tales and myths folk-ballads reflect the life of a people or, in the words of F. Boas, give an 'autobiography of the tribe'. Life at large forms the social complex. The society has got two primary functions. firstly, it guides the spiritual, ethical and religious activities of the persons through innumerable rituals ; and secondly, it cements a permanent bond between person and person, family and family. The social entity conforms to age-old traditions and also disseminates values to posterity.

Ballads are, so to speak, a social product The ballad hero is a hero of the society and the themes are taken from social events and actions or contemplations. The facts may not be always historical but some of them vibrate with the spirit and life of legends. Gods, supernatural beings, household beasts and animals, spirits of the under-world, even common flora and fauna – all crowd the arena of the ballad.

Ballads of a particular region or people represent the peculiar characteristics of that people some of whom are habituated to war-like activities, some to social productions like agriculture

and others may lead a nomadic life of herdsmen. Ballads breathe the life and tune of a society where men work together, live even under open roof but in a cementing bond of human relationship, with cordiality and friendship. These observations are very true to Oriya folk-ballads.

The people lived from a pre-historic time in a land surrounded by sea, hills and divided by valleys and rivers. There are currents and cross currents of culture from the date of nomadic tribes to sea-going traders, the 'Sādhabas', and the docile peasants who rise with the sun and retire to their cozy bed as the moon rises. So far as the social structure is concerned we can divide the people into several classes, such as the peasant folk, the aboriginal tribes living in the forest like the 'Śavara's, those having trade in the sea like the 'Śādhabas', and people belonging to different castes originally divided according to their profession, but in course of time solidified according to birth. But the image of the society that emerges out of the ballads is mainly an agrarian one. They invariably speak of the life in the villages though we may come across kings, princes, cities, palaces and strange lands in the religious, mythical and historical ballads.

A typical Orissan village as depicted in ballads is located amidst colourful Nature that alludes to a dream land. But the life within it is not that beautiful. The people rot in proverty, disease, illiteracy and ignorance. Superstitions pervade all spheres of life The caste-system is another taboo. The landlords and touts exploit the common mass. The common men live from hand to mouth. Yet they sing, dance and make merry when occassions permit. Generations of suffering and misery have been accepted by them as the way of life.

Religion is the guiding principle in the society *Oṣā*, *Brata*, *Pala* and many other forms of worship continue throughout the year. The priest is the care-taker of religion. A blessing from the priest ensures a convenient seat in the heaven. The religious ballads repeatedly persuade the listener to satisfy the priest with delicious food, money and other gifts Even some

worships which were originally conducted by ladies have been usurped by priests. (Das, K. B. 1953, p. 62). Besides innumerable gods and goddesses, certain plants and animals are also worshipped for blessings.

The folk, unacquainted with scientific pursuit of the truth, readily accept the ghosts, witches, fairies and the magic world. 'In working with Indian story-tellers, it becomes clear that some of them actually conceive of themselves as living in such a world'. (Leach, M., 1949, p. 517). To them the etherial beings can take human-shape and behave as human beings. The fairies come down to earth to observe '*Oṣa*' and '*brata*' for the tempting results they yield. They also interfere in human activities. The ghosts may vex people by their mischief but an exorcist can jolly well control them and utilize them to his own benefit. A sorceress can turn a youth into a black ram to satisfy her selfish motives. Certain yogic practices can control even the god of death. Queen Mukutā dei in the ballad 'Govindacandra' ascends to heaven and prevails upon Yama, the lord of death, to prolong the longevity of her husband.

The philosophy of life of the folk is based on scriptures. Incidents in life are believed to take place at the will of gods. All miseries are atributed to Fate. Such a conviction helps them to endure and live satisfied with only duties. Under the influence of high-sounding Indian philosophy, they speak of the transitoriness and futility of life But faced with the grim realities of life they choose to bribe gods and goddesses for wealth, prosperity and long life.

Marriage is essential to beget sons The son is a surety who can supply right sustenance, as prescribed by scriptures, to the souls of his dead parents. A barren woman is undsirable in a family. Queen Mukutā dei, in the afore said ballad, is turned out from the palace for being barren. Men and women undergo penances for a son and not a daughter. The daughter is rather a burden. The dowry system which persists till modern times can be traced in the ballads of unknown antiquity.

The characters in the ballad Sitābibhā which narrates an episode from the Rāmāyaṇa, assume local colour. The father of the bride, king Janaka, offers rich dowry to the son-in-law with half of Orissa which is supposed to be his kingdom. Dowry is the favourite topic for a mother-in-law to satirize the parents of the daughter-in-law. There are instances of child-marriage too.

The woman is treated, in the family, just as a slave. She has no social status. The newly married woman complains of scarcity of food and clothing at her mother-in-law's house. She does not even get a little oil to comb her hair. What to speak of cosmetics ! Gruel is served to her instead of rice. The mother-in-law complains of scanty dowry and passes satirical remarks on her parents. The helpless bride is troubled day and night. If she sits, she is satirized as being a slab of stone, if she stands she is called a pillar, if she sleeps, she is compared to a husking pedal. Even when she weeps helplessly, the members of the mother-in-law's house ask which of her relations is dead (vide 'Palli Aśru').

Female education is considered useless. It is a common belief that education is not necessary on the part of a woman who is to be confined to the kitchen. In spite of indignant attitude of mothers-in-law, womenfolk are found to receive education in certain ballads written obviously closer to our time.

In a conservative society love-making is not encouraged before marriage. Marriages are arranged by parents or guardians. But however rigid the dictums of religion may be, they cannot suppress the human instincts and passions completely. In the ballad 'Kemante pāhiba lo catuḥ cāri māsa' a married person falls in love with a lady other than his wife. In the ballad 'Āda muhā hoi tārā kāhī pāī ruṣu' a married woman falls in love with her brother-in-law. Co-wives are not rare.

Though folk-poetry provides ample scope for free expression of feelings and passions, the case of the ballad is somewhat different. The ballad is often sung by a group or to a group. Hence the

balladist has to be a bit cautious about moral standards of the society. He tries to give a religious tinge to his secular ballads. To express amour and flirting' the Rādhā-Krisṇa legend suits best. Most of the religious ballads are basically secular.

The ballads have a great deal to speak about food, dress, customs and traditions of the society concerned. Long catalogues of ornaments are found in ballads relating to marriage. It is interesting to note the way various rituals are observed on the occasions of birth, death, marriage, insinuation, etc.

The ballads speak of a society not of any particular period but cover a vast expanse of time. Yet the basic values of the society they speak of, remain almost the same throughout. The same traditional beliefs, superstitions and social taboos persist all along. Attempts to bring about reformations and reconciliations often go in vain. Ignorance prevails over knowledge, injustice over righteousness. Yet unconsciously and in a most spontaneous way the ballad 'creates a world where vindications that the world of reality denies are granted······ the weak prevails over the strong, the evil meets an avenger, the less pleasant conditions of life are resolved in ways that are not of the work-a-day world' (Heskovits, 1969, p 271).

III. FLORA AND FAUNA

Plot being the most important element in a ballad, all other artistic possibilities are subordinated to it. The balladist finds little time to paint Nature. This does not mean that the role of Nature is insignificant. It has rather an overall influence. The life-drama of the folk takes place amidst Nature. The folk live, toil and die in it. The ballad-characters, if separated from their Natural surroundings and cast against an urban setting amidst the glamour of city life, would look ludicrous. Though vivid descriptions of Nature are lacking, its presence is always felt in the ballad. It has, in fact, a vital role to play.

Though the folk-poet is a lover of Nature, he has little leisure to go in search of it. But things around him do not escape his notice. Even Objects that escape the notice of great poets

for being paltry, are caught in the spider's web of the folk-poet's loving mind (Das, K. B., 1958, p. 280). A cone of the banana, a tender cucumber, a spinach, the pot-herb, etc., that may not find an easy access into sophisticated poetry, have been exquisitely dealt with in folk-ballads.

The folk-poets do not sit 'with the resolve to describe Nature and say something fine; they never write anything for the sake of display. In the course of narrative of human action, Nature serves the purpose of a background, never made obtrusively prominent, but she often captures us being revealed by fine touches, all suddenly, as if by lightning flash—presenting a gay landscape views taken at snapshot (Sen, D. C., 1923, p. LXXXVI).

'Descriptions of Nature are rather few in number and seldom occupy more than a single verse or couplet, but they are usually very impreśsive....The poets wish thereby to evoke a certain mood in the listener or create a certain atmosphere'. (Sen. D. C. p 143).

In the ballad 'Dhanaku Bideśaku Calāi Nelā', only the opening line has been devoted to depict Nature, 'The world is flooded with moon-light in the night of *Dolpurnima*'. It serves as a befitting background to an occasion of re-union. In 'Somanātha Brata Kathā' the hero, a brahmin, enters a forest in search of lord Śiva. Three verses have been devoted to describe the forest, which helps to create an atmosphere of owe and, at the same time, serves as a background.

To the unscrupulous village-folk, Nature has great religious implications. Various objects of Nature are worshipped as gods and goddesses out of fear or gratitude. A number of plants, birds and beasts are found being worshipped in the world of folklore. If not worshipped, some of those are associate with religious rites (Das, K. B, 1964). Sometimes those are endowed with divine power to help imparting moral lessons. The ballad 'Jahni Osā Kathā' propagates the worship of the basil plant. Snake-god is the presiding deity of 'Nagal caturthi brata'. Glory of Truth and Piety has been upheld in 'Baulā Gāi' and 'Subāni Gāi' where cows are the central figures.

To the folk-mind, trees, birds and beasts are living beings endowed with human sensibilities. When there is no hope of sympathy and help from the human society for the protagonists of the ballads, Nature comes forward with the offer. In the ballad 'Alanā Osā', an *Arjun* tree slits open to give shelter to two girls in distress In the ballad 'Koili Duta', the cuckoo serves as a messenger to communicate the misery of a distressed bride to her parents.

Heroes are set against ferocious animals to test their valour. In 'Mardagāji Bibhā Pālā' the duel between a bear and Mardagāji has been described in detail (p. 12). The bear boasts of his prowess and challenges Mardagāji to fight passing humiliating remarks on him. This reminds one of combats between medieval heroes. In Manohar Phāśyārā Pālā', a brave lady Raṅgabati kills a rhinoceros in the guise of a man and wins a princess.

Nature has a soothing effect on the mind. It also enhances pleasure. In 'Govindacandra', birds like swan, water-hen and cuckoo are brought to the new pleasure-garden of the queen. Flowers like jasmine and gomphrena are used to decorate the braided hair of the beloved and also the nuptial room.

Nature may serve as a symbol of truth. In 'Baulā Gāi' the cow Baulā promises to the tiger to return from home after feeding her calf. To remove the doubts of the tiger, she speaks of sublimity of Truth :

Ocean, abiding Truth, never overflows the shore
Tree, abiding Truth, bears fruits evermore.

Nature serves as a rich source of comparata to the folk-poet. Flowers, fruits, birds and beasts form the major portion of comparata used in folk-ballads.

The 'Bāramāsi' ballads provide ample scope to depict Nature. The protagonists in such ballads describe different modes of Nature in twelve months of the year coming in succession, along with narrations of incidents in life or expression of emotions. Here too, Nature serves as a back-ground. At the same time the melancholic mood of the protagonist is well contrasted with the gaiety of Nature in most of those ballads.

Nature serves as a befitting background to the life and activities of the folk-world. It soothes, enhances pleasure and affects folk life in various other ways. Instead of presenting 'long and monotonous accounts of mornings and evenings, with a catalogue of flower-plants, the folk-poets handle Nature in a more dignified way.'

IV ART OF NARRATION

Originating from time immemorial, the Oriya folk-ballads are still growing luxuriantly like wild creepers. In theme and style they are simple but beautiful. They are the product of unsophisticated art, the pivot of it being the art of narration. The artistic attainments of a ballad cannot be attributed to a single individual. Once a ballad is composed, may be by a rural talent, it is treated as every-body's property. It undergoes changes, especially in form and style in the hands of innumerable ballad-singers. As it is not an easy matter to 'reconstruct the history of individual tale-types and trace the possible routes of diffusion' - the main concern of comparative folk-theorists (Misra, **B** . 1973, p 112) the present study deals with the artistic aspects of ballads in their existing forms.

Refrain is one of the prominent technical features of ballads. 'Many ballads contain a refrain' observes Mac Edward Leach. 'a word, phrase, line or several lines — repeated after each stanza or sometimes interwoven with the stanza' (Leach, 1949). According to Laurence Perrine, 'The refrain furnishes pleasure in its repetition of familiar sound ; it serves to mark off rhythmical units, and at the same time to unify the poem ; and it may be very skilfully used to reinforce emotion and meaning'. He further adds, 'the refrain seems a universal feature of primitive poetry and tribal verse, an accompaniment of communal dance and communal labor' (Perrine, 1975, p 687).

The refrains are not usually noticed in Oriya folk-ballads. The reasons, as stated earlier, may be that the ballads are not associated with dancing. These are always sung and not recited. The refrains are not however completely absent in them. We can take an example from the song 'Fula Baula Beni' which

has been accepted as a ballad by Dr. K. B. Das though quite lyrical :

The star falls from heavens
My brother promised me anklets but
the sister-in-law denied.
My brother is indeed 'moon faced' one but lo.
the sister-in-law is a rogue.

This refrain is repeated at the end of each verse throughout the song. Though it is not known to have been associated with dancing. the form provides scope to be sung by a maiden joined by friends to sing the refrain thus involving common participation.

Simple repetition is a very familiar feature of ballad-style. It is aptly said, 'The heavy amount of repetition and parallelism one finds in the ballads may appear to be merely decorative rhetoric, but it is not so. Repetition in heightened passages was brilliantly explained by Coleridge as the singer's effort to discharge emotion that couldnot be exhausted in one saying. Much repetition is mnemonic : in a story being recited or sung. crucial facts must be firmly planted in the memory since the hearer cannot turn back a page to refresh himself about a fact that slipped by in a moment of inattention (Friedman, 1975)

In Oriya folk-ballads repetitions are everywhere. In the ballad 'Deula tola', for example, the old carpenter wants a strong assurance from the king that he must not open the temple-door for twentyone days :

I'll complete the image
within twentyone days
For twentyone days you mustn't come
to bother me
You mustn't open the door
for twentyone days
Nothing short of twentyone days
shall serve my purpose.

After four lines again :

I, the old carpenter, will be confined
for twentyone days.

On the fourteenth day the king repeats the same matter before the queen :

I am promise-bound for twentyone days
After twentyone days the door shall be opened.

The repetition of the time-factor has its own significance. The specification of time holds a key point in the story. The repetition helps in emphasising the point. It also intensifies suspense.

In 'Ta'poi' the parents of the girl die as the gold-moon is constructed. The matter has deen repeated by the seven brothers on the eve of their departure for trade, to remind the position of their household to their wives :

We are so ill-fated that our parents
met pre-mature death.

We are going out for trade ;
You must take care of the herth.

Ta'poi in her days of misfortune recalls :

Father died when the gold-moon was
half completed
Mother died at its completion,
The seven brothers went out for trade
The sisters-in-law reduced me to this state.

Such repetition helps portraying the mental state of the character concerned, intensifies the atmosphere of pathos and at the same time reminds the absentminded listener some essential points in the story.

We may take note of another example. In the ballad Govindacandra, we find repetition of a full stanza :

East, west, north and south
kingdoms you searched
You selected and got me married with
ninetynine princesses

One is Hirā, the other Nilā and the third Gajamoti
Princess Saraswati ever plays on the vinā.
You locked me in marriage with ninetynine princesses
Yet you punish me thus, why I know not.

The repetition maintains a tragic atmosphere and makes the story still more appealing.

In ballad-technique another type of repetition is found which is termed as 'incremental repetition' by F. B. Gummere. In such a repetition 'a line or stanza is repeated several times with some small but material substitution at the same crucial spot.... Suspense is the principal effect achieved by this device, for with each iteration and its substituted element, tension mounts until the climactic substitution, which resolves the pattern, is reached (Friedman, 1975). In the ballad 'Bohu O Nanada' (The bride and the sister-in-law) we find a beautiful example of it. The ballad is in the form of a dialogue between a bride and her sister-in-law a few, portions of which are given below :

The bride — The brinjal curry is insufficient
I know not how to serve
No longer can I bear the tortures
of my mother-in-law and her daughter
I must jump into the well.
The sister-in-law — If you jump into the well I must
pull you out with a net
The bride — If you pull me out with a net
I shall turn into *dubi* grass
near the well.
The sister-in-law — If you turn into *dubi* grass near the well
I shall put the black cow there to graze.
The bride — If you put the black cow there to graze
I'll turn into leaves of a tree.
The sister-in-law — If you turn into leaves of a tree
I'll pluck them everyday.

The sister-in-law — If you turn into the moon of the sky
I shall play at dice every night
The bride — If you play at dice every night
I'll mingle with the black clouds.
The sister-in-law — If you mingle with the black clouds
I'll drown myself in the ocean.

Thus in the ballad 'each stanza repeats the substance of the preceding. but with some variation which advances the story and tension mounts until the climactic substitution 'I'll drown myself in the ocean' resolves the pattern.

The use of dialogues in the ballads is noteworthy. Most of the ballads contain dialogues in varying measures. Ballads such as 'Bohu O Naṇada' (the bride and the sister-in-law) discussed above and 'Dukhini' (the sad mistress) are composed almost in dialogues. Very often the utterances of characters are presented in direct speech. When a bride weeps, her mother-in-law asks, 'Who is dead ?' She further accuses, 'Your parents gave me nothing.' Baulā asks, 'O tiger, have you gone mad ?' The dialogues and speech-rhythm enliven the story and make it feel more realistic.

The use of similes and metaphors add to the artistic beauty of the ballads. Considering the importance of the subject, a detailed study of those has been made in subsequent pages.

The artistry of ballads has further been enriched by the use of ironical expressions. In the ballad 'Palli Aśru', for example, the bride says :

The father-in-law loves me so dearly that
he has renamed me Laxmi. the ignoble,
How shall I describe the mother-in-law's love.
She pours her venum and calls me a vile viper.

Through such ironical expressions the bride expresses her hatred for her parents-in-law as well as the pangs of her heart.

Narration of a ballad starts with or without an invocation. In religious ballads (Oṣā & Brata kathā) the invocation is a common feature. Popular gods and goddesses, like Lord Jagannāth, Laxmi, Śiva, Pārvati, Ganeś and Candikā, are invoked. Sometimes gods like Nārāyaṇa and Ganeś too are invoked though the ballads relate stories of some other gods.

In invocation, the balladist usually sings the glory of certain deity This practice is called *bandana* in Indian literary tradition. It may be very brief or prolonged through several verses. In 'Deulatolā' twenty nine verses have been devoted to the *bandana* of Lord Jagannāth, Sadāsiva, Ganeś and Hanumanta. The ballad may open with a dialogue between a divine couple that leads to the narration of a story This serves the purpose of a *bandana*. Even a religious ballad can go without a *bandana*. Besides singing the glory of a deity in invocation, the poet may entreat the deity expressively to support him where he stumbles in the course of his poetic venture. Otherwise, it is implied.

Some ballads, especially the longer ones, are divided into 'fits' or *chāndas*. The 'Bhāijiantiā oṣā' is divided into five *chāndas*, the 'Jahni oṣā', though a short ballad containing about 132 verses, is divided into five *chāndas*. The *chāndas* end with colophons. In the former, the poet simply mentions the end of a particular *chānda* at its close. But in the latter, the poet mentions his name too in traditional epic style at the end of each *chānda*. In the ballad 'Mārgasira Gurubāra oṣā', the sections are termed as *pali* (phases) in accordance with the mode of observance of the *oṣā* which completes in four phases.

The opening of a ballad is rarely abrupt. Usually it starts in a tale-telling manner giving necessary information to pursue the story. Ballads based on epic-materials, however, strike a sense of surprise with abrupt beginnings. The ballad 'Sitābibhā' opens with the information that king Janaka has promised to offer his daughter Sitā in marriage to the hero

who breaks the bow of Siva. The Dhaga Rāmāyana, similarly, opens to describe the anxiety of Rāma's followers who are to cross the ocean. The balladists do not care to relate the background which is supposed to be wellknown.

The techniques in folk-ballads reveal a close affinity to simple folk-minds. Technically the ballads conform to a universal pattern of form and style to a great extent though composed in various metres. The use of refrains may not be a very organic feature. This, however, does not mar the main purpose of a ballad, i. e., to tell a story in verse in an effective way.

V. RHYME AND VERSIFICATION

The folk-poet expresses himself in ballads as he speaks to his fellow-men. Folk-speech is not so refined from literary point of view—the sentences may remain incomplete, there may be irregularities in syntax The mode of expression in ballads is as natural as that. Folk-poetry may appear to follow certain patterns of versification, but ultimately it is found that no rule is followed very rigidly. However, in such poetry, importance is laid on rhythm and some heed is paid to attainment of rhyming.

'Rhythm is an expression of the instinct for order in sound which normally governs the human ear.' It enchants the mind and enhances pleasure. Rythm is generally classed into three categories : Auditory, Visual and Conceptual. In folk-poetry it is mainly auditory. While discussing the characteristics of Oriya folk-poetry Dr. N. Sāmanta Rāy rightly observes that rhythm is the only criterion for versification in folk-poetry ; it abides by no other rule. (Samanta Ray, 1951, p479)

All the ballads are in rhymed verses. Generally, in rhyming, couplets are used. But some ballads like 'Mo jibana', 'Jemā melāṇi', 'Bhagāripura' and 'Śri Rāma Abhiṣeka' comprise of triplets. In 'Nāgal caturthi' each stanza consists of four lines

rhyming by pair, the rhyme-scheme being aa bb. Each stanza is independent of the succeeding stanza in respect of rhyming. Some ballads are composed in nine-syllabled rhymed verses. It is the metre of the 'Bhāgabata' of Jagannātha Dās, the 16th century Oriya poet.

According to E. K. Chambers, ballads, with a few exceptions are written either in four-stress rhyming couplets or in septenars, which were probably felt rather as quatrains, alternately of fourstress and three-stress lines, of which only the three-stress ones rhyme. The rhyme is normally iambic (Chambers, 1947, p149). On the other hand Oriya letters are almost syllabic and the stress is not prominent on any particular syllable in a word. Hence one may not hope to come across the 'four stress rhyming couplets', 'septenars' or 'iambic metre', etc. in Oriya balladry.

The folk–poet is not very particular about the number of letters (syllables) to be used in a line. For example, though 'Mā'raśoka' has been composed of mostly fourteen-lettered lines, some of those consist of 10, 11, 12 or 13 letters. Similarly the poet does not strain his mind to attain qualitative excellence in rhyming. Sometimes the same words carrying the same meaning have been repeated at the end of lines for rhyming. 'Sukhadukha, has been rhymed with 'Dāruṇa-dukha,' in which 'dukha'. meaning sadness, is the common word (vide Govinda candra, p27). In the same ballad the word 'bhanduthāi' (cheating) has been repeated with the same meaning. Similarly, verbal words like 'parāi' with 'nuhai' and 'udai' with 'bāsuthāi' have been yoked in rhyming. Usually in Oriya, verbs of the same tense end with the same suffix. For instance, in past tense, we have 'lā' combined with the root. Hence to attain rhyming by use of such verbal forms does not involve any strain. This shows that the poet is not keen on perfection in rhyming. His main aim is only to narrate the story. But weakness in the workmanship of rhyming is not a drawback with the ballad, rather it is a merit.

It frees the ballad from cumbrous artificiality and adds to its natural growth.

The poetic metre of the ballad is akin to the '*Bacanikā Chanda*' or '*Dāndi bruta*' which the 'Pālā' and 'Dāsakāthia' singers, 'Patuā' and 'Danda Nātuā, make use of while asking questions to the rival parties or answering to them. As they find no prepared verses for the purpose, they try to compose and sing verses then and there, extempore. They express themselves in speech-rhythm only trying to maintain a rhyming at the end of each couplet (Das, K. B. 1985, p321).

Thus the folk-balladist enjoys much more freedom than a writer of sophisticated poetry which, of course, makes the ballad still more fresh and charming.

VI. SIMILES AND METAPHORS

Similes and metaphors were the 'best possible way of expression' to the primitive man who lacked a 'trained way of thinking'. He would try to comprehend the unknown in comparison to something well known and conceive of the abstract in terms of the concrete. (Gonda, J., 1949, p11). Profuse use of similes and metaphors in fok-literature is the result. These have further been employed by the folk-artists for expression of thought and emotions such as happiness, sorrow, love, anger, hatred etc., for description of beauty, mainly physical appearances, for expression of devotion or appreciation, for sermonization and many other purposes. The comparatum is usually obtained from Nature or day-to-day life. These are some of the general characteristics of similes and metaphors found in folk-literature. But under the influence of the culture, tradition and taste of a particular region and its Nature, the similes and metaphors may show some special characteristics. From this point of view the similes and metaphors in Oriya folk-ballads may be analysed.

Dr Dusan Zbavitel rightly points out that the folk-poetry can tell us a great deal about the folk psychology, the taste,

the ways the folk-poets react to reality and their feelings. Further, those can open broad vistas to a historian of literature and aesthetics, too. (Zbavitel, D., Bengali Folk Ballads from Mymensigh, 1963. p153) Similes and metaphors may play an important role in this context. When the ballads pass from generation to generation, many changes are brought about in language, form and content. But the successful similes and metaphors or the images, the finest portions of poetic workmanship, are apt to remain unchanged as the ballad-singer may not find a finer way of expression for the same emotion. Hence, in the context of antiquity, the similes and metaphors provide more reliable materials than any other aspect of a ballad and may focuss light on many a field, producing interesting results. This point is also to be noted in our study.

For the methodology adopted in this essay I am greatly indebted to J. Gonda and Dr. Dusan Zbavitel who have made scholarly contributions to the study of similes and metaphors in Sanskrit literature and Mymensing ballads respectively. The classification of similes and metaphors, I have made, is in the line of Dr. Dusan though with slight difference. He has classified those according to objects described whereas I chose to arrange according to their sources. The remarks made in many cases, as indicated in foot-notes, are from the 'Remarks on similes in Sanskrit Literature' by J. Gonda.

In the similes and metaphors of Oriya folk-ballads the comparata are obtained from various sources which may be divided into the following categories : (A) Nature (B) Day-to-day life (C) Religion, myth and legends (D) Social positions and situations and (E) miscellaneous. Among these, the comparata obtained from Nature out-number the rest. These can be further subdivided into the following types : (i) Celestial bodies (ii) Animal world (iii) Plant kingdom (iv) Rocks, stones and precious metals (v) Natural phenomena like the wind, thunder and fire and (vi) Ocean and rivers, etc. In order that the reader may get a comprehensive idea to himself, about the similes and metaphors, a select list of those is furnished

at the end of this essay. Each simile has been numbered to make it convenient for reference in the course of discussion.

It has already been stated that the major portion of the comparata is obtained from Nature. But as these ballads come mostly from the coastal area of Orissa, the impact of coastal Nature on the similes and metaphors is prominent. The images relating to ocean and river occur more frequently than mountains and forests. There is nothing to be surprised if the desert image never appears in comparision in the ballads collected so far. Moreover, some of these similes are remarkable for their rural origin. When the village maiden's chignon is compared to 'Bhandikadhi' or the cone ef a banana (Vide simile No. 41), the girl friend is addressed as 'Kaṣikākudi' (tender cucumber) (No. 31) and the helpless bride is compared with the suffocated coconut plant in between the leafy mango tree and the 'Simba' or the kidney-bean creeper (No. 27), we get realistic depiction of rural life as well as Nature.

The images coming up from the similes and metaphors relating to ocean and river (No.s 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60) are significant from historical point of view. Obviously those allude to the sea-trade of maritime Kalinga. The terms 'meli deucha' or 'meli dela' are the different forms fo the verb 'melibā' associated with 'Boita' or barque which was then in vogue. For expressing helplessness, floating images might have seemed quite adequate to the folk-poet of constantly flood-striken coastal part of Orissa. Though in some cases the specific mention of the term 'Ocean' or 'river' is lacking, the suggestion is clear.

Some of these similes and metaphors are quite eloquent on certain aspects of the cultural life of Orissa. The famous temples of Konārak, Bhubaneśwar and Puri play a vital role in Orissan culture and religious life. The temple of Lord Jagannāth, in particular, is even existant in the people's subconscious mind. Naturally 'Mandira' or 'Deula' (temple)

as comparatum finds a very easy go into the ballads. A heap of rice in the bride's plate looks like a temple (No. 80). Home is a temple (No. 81). Fven the *poda pitha*, a typical baked cake of Orissa, used also in the temple of Jagannāth, and the *pothi* (palm-leaf manuscript) serve as comparata (No: 73, 71).

Folklore and sophisticated literature have always influenced each other. The similes and metaphors of one area very easily cross over to the other. Hence in folk-ballads one comes across a good deal of similes and metaphors which are found in learned literature too. Comparison of one's face with the moon (No. 7), the nearest and dearest one with certain treasure (No. 47, 48), the graceful walk of a woman with that of an elephant (No. 16) are common to both the fields. The image of crossing the ocean on the back of a crocodile (No. 25) is directly brought from the Sanskrit Hitopodesha. The comparison of Sitā amidst demonesses with the swan among cranes is brought from the well-known Sanskrit sloka of Cānakya.

Most of the similes and metaphors in the ballads appear to be artificial and ornamental rather than being expressive of inner urge. This is due to the fact that the folk-balladist expresses himself in the language of common man and depends on the 'general store of expression' for his similes and metaphors, most of which are worn out due to constant use. A good number of similes having for their comparata the moon (No. 3, 4, 5, 7), treasure (No. 47, 48, 61 to 65), life (No. 100, 101), queen (No. 91) etc. are the examples. But when the bride, under torture, compares the eyes of her mother-in-law with the burning coke (No. 50), the helpless wife compares herself with a fly which finds no plant to take shelter on (No. 18) or the bride compares the movement of palanquin-bearers with that of a kite (No. 10), the similes are quite alive.

Since the worn out similes are not capable of expressing

the emotion adequately, sometimes two or more comparata are yoked to a single comparandum as in 'Boile re dhana kumara maṇi' ('O' treasure' she said, 'gem like son of mine') where 'treasure' and 'gem' are the two comparata to 'son'. Similarly in order to provide some momentum to a worn out simile, the balladist makes use of the genitive 'prānar' (of the soul) meaning dear, or the metaphoric genitive 'sonār' (of gold) preceding a comparandum, as in 'prāna saśi' (No. 5), 'jibana dhana' (Antima bidāya, P. G. S. I, p. 51) and 'sunā candramā' (No. 3) etc. Some other expexegetical additions are also made for the same purpose. Hence the balladist prefers to say 'saraga tārā' (celestial star) and 'nayana tārā' (the star of my eye) instead of mere 'star' (No. 8).

In the ballads, occasionally we come across accumulation of similes employed for expression of emotion. 'When the emotion is not appeased through one simile, the balladist makes use of the second or the third' (Gonda, J., 1949, p57). The repentance of Hanumān, who had mistaken Sitā for a demoness, has been expressed in the following accumulation of similes :

Asuren saṅge samankali gādir saṅge pālki.
Pital saṅge Kāhī sunā
Luhā sange kansā ginā
Pāṭara sange kapadā
Sankha mahuri chāḍi kāhī bajāi basili dhapadā.
(I have taken her for a demoness
And thereby
I have equated the cart with the palanquin.
Where stands the bell metal and where the gold ?
Compare iron with brass cup
And cotton cloth with silk ?
I have started beating a drum
leaving aside the clarion and conch)
—Dhaṇa Rāmāyana, P. G. S. II, p, 109.

Similarly Rāvan claims superiority over Rāma comparing him-

self with sipāhi (police man), rhinoceros and Bhima, and Rāma with a servant, jhānkar (porcupine) and an ant, in an accumulation of similes, 'Sipāhi cākar, gandā, jhānkar, Bhimar hāte cāti' (Dhaga Rāmāyana, P. G. S. II, p. 123). Sometimes such similes are used to contrast characters, especially to show love for one and hatred for the other (No. 85).

In most cases one or more similes are found in the concluding lines of a ballad. The ballads 'Rāija jāka galu andhāra kari' (P. G. S. I, p. 9), 'Sunā candramāku mo kāla daṃsilā' (P. G. S. I, p. 10), 'Govinda candra' (P. G. S. I, p. 37), 'Bideśa yātrā' (P. G. S. I., p. 49), 'Jemā melāṇi' (U. G. G p. 5) etc. contain such similes. It is because the narrator wants to close his story in a striking manner producing a lasting effect in the listener's mind before leaving him. Sometimes similes occuring towards the close of a story mark the culminating point, vide similes 'You are no mother but a caṇḍāluni' (Govinda candra, P. G. S. I., p. 33) and 'If I cry, my Sitā will also cry and her moon-face will turn pale'. (Sitānka Ayodhyā bije U. G. G., p. 34, l. 6).

'In sentences or utterances which are spoken under the influence of feelings and sensations, the most emotional element will push itself towards the first place of the sentence' (Gonda, J., 1949, p 57) Such utterances are very frequently met with in Oriya folk-ballads (No. 27, 28, 34 etc.).

A good number of similes serve an important purpose so far as those impart moral teachings (Gonda, J., 1949. p84). These didactic similes are often philosophical and sonorous in tone as will be evident in the following example :

What does enchant you my boy,
in the red Śālmali flower (worldly life) ?
The moment it is fully blossomed,
the fibre will be floating in the air.
—Govinda candra, P. G. S. I., p. 38.

Repetition of lines and stanzas is a common feature in a ballad. Those help the listener to recollect some important points. Similes and metaphors may be used for similar purposes. But sometimes those are repeated for releasing emotions as in the case of accumulation of similes. In 'Mo jibana' the very metaphor appears at the end of each couplet In 'padilo achi dola puneī jahna' the metaphor 'dhana' has been repeated ten times.

Instead of addressing by name, especially in cases of love, affection, devotion and admiration, one chooses a metaphor. The mother likes to address her son as 'dhana', a girl addresses her girl friend as 'kaṣi kākuḍi' (tender cucumber) or 'campak' bud and the sister-in-law as a 'Saraga tārā' (the celestial star). Naturally a good number of metaphors of this sort are found in vocative form.

The idiomatic expressions are the remnants of the ancient form of a language when the tendency was to express through analogies. Hence similes and metaphors can be traced in such expressions. 'To turn one's chest to a stone' (Chāti pathara karibā) and 'The bangle being as stout as thunder' (Kāca bajra hebā) are two very popular idioms forming metaphors (No. 68, 54).

Sometimes a human situation is compared with a phenomenon in Nature 'that forms the parallel act' (Gonda, J, 1949, p 74). In the metaphoric expression 'Āmba latikāku śimba latikālo naḍiā latikā malā' (No. 27) the bride expresses her helplessness. She is suffocated just as the coconut plant in between a mango tree and a śimba creeper. The image is quite adequate even to depict the suffocation of life in the modern society.

In the similes the connectives used are 'pari', 'prāya', 'pramāṇe' and 'bāgir' etc. meaning 'like'. In most cases the connectives are omitted as in 'Campādeha', 'Candra badana' etc., though sometimes supplied. Out of these the connectives 'bāgir' and jentā are especially found in the Sambalpuri dialect.

Thus, to a great extent, the observations made by J Gonda and Dr. Dusan in respect of the similes and metaphors in Sanskrit literature and Mymensing ballads respectively, hold good in case of Oriya folk-ballads too. Yet we come across at least some similes and metaphors which reflect the typical Orissan Nature, life and culture. Like excavated old coins they tell tales of long past. They also indicate the potentiality of a language in its oral form current among the folk. The following is a select list of similes and metaphors which may reveal their variety and peculiarities at a glance. They have been arranged according to their comparata with the correspon-ding comparanda in brackets :

A. Comparatum obtained from Nature :

I. Celestial Bodies :

1. Sun (Son) Śukara bāra dina galu tu mari, Rāija jāka galu andhāra kari. (You died on Friday leaving the whole world in darkness) — Rāija jāka galu andhāra kari — P.G.S. Part I, p. 10.
2. Sun (wife) To binu andhakāra jagata sārā. (The whole world is dark without you) — Kete dina bancibi hoi nirmākhi — P.G.S. Pt. 1, p. 55.
3. Moon (son) Sunā candramāku mo kāla daṃśilā. (My golden moon was bitten by the serpent) — P.G.S., Pt. 1, p. 11.
4. Moon (woman) Gambhiri ghare Sitā ubhā hele jāi/ Solaṭi candramā jāka aile ulhāi. (Sitā then stood in the inner apartment where all the sixteen moons descended) — Sitā bibhā — P.G.S , p. 18.
5. Moon (husband) Dākile bou boli mo prāṇa śaśi (My dear moon called out 'bou' (mother) — Bideśa jātrā - P G.S. Pt. I, p. 47.
6. Moon (son-in-law) Rohiṇi saṅgate muje milāibi śaśi (I shall unite Rohiṇi with the moon (son-in-law) — Sitābibhā — P.G.S., Pt. I, p. 14.

7. Moon (face) Candra badanata sukhi jāichi (The moon-face has turned pale) — Biśikêśana — P.G.S , Pt. I, p. 23.

8. Star (sister-in-law) Doṣa nāhi mora re saraga tārā (I am not at fault O' celestial star !) — Ada muhā kari tārā kāhīpāī ruṣu — P.G.S., Pt. II, p. 75.

II. Animal World :

(a) Birds :

9. Cuckoo's note (brother's tone) Koili kaṇṭha sware kahutu kathā. (You speak in the tone of the cuckoo) — Bhāinanā — U.G.G., p 15.

10. Kite's sweep (movement of the palanquin bearers) — Cila parākari nele udāi lo mo jibana (My life, they carried me away as a kite) — Mo jibana, U.G.G., p. 4.

11. Crow (enemy) Rāmacandra mo jahī thibe se sañge tuhi kuāṭe (In the presence of Rāmacandra you are but a crow) — Dhaga Rāmāyaṇa — P.G.S., Pt. II, p. 109.

12. Crane (the ugly) & Swan (the beautiful) Baka bhitare haṃsa bāgir dekhlā jentā diśucan (She looks like a swan amidst cranes) — Dhaga Rāmāyana — P.G.S., Pt. II, p 109.

(b) Beasts :

13. Lioness (virtuous woman) and the fox (ignoble woman) Siṃhara bhāryā kāhī kulhiā ; (Where stands the lioness and where the fox :) — Dhaga Rāmāyana (P.G.S.) II, p. 111 (Similarly the virtuous woman is compared with a boar or a horse where as the ignoble is compared with a fox or an ass).

14. Lion (the valiant) and the fox (the weak) Siṃhara ghare kulhiā āsi bāghara māṃsa khāilā. (The fox, entering the lion's house, tasted the tiger's flesh.) — Ibid, p. 121. (Similarly the valiant is compared with the rhinoceros where as the weak is compared with the porcupine. Ibid, p. 123.

15. Elephant (the valiant) sparrow (the weak) and spider (the weaker) cāti ṃakarā mārikari hātike giluthilā (The ant, after killing the spider (makaɪā), was swallowing the elephant.) —Ibid, p. 129.

16. Elephant's steps (maiden's graceful movement) Gaja gamanāku dekhibi boli) In order to meet the lady who walks as gracefully as an elephant—Bahuta dina pare dekhili sakhi—P. G. S- II, p. 71.

(c) Insects :

17. Black bee (hair) Taila bihune rajāra jhiase keṣa bhramara uḍai. (Her black bee-like hair floats in the air without oil)—Govinda candra (p. G. S.) I, p. 28.

18. Fly (the frustrated one) Uḍantā māchi prāya uḍuchi muhī. (I am flying about just as a fly) Duhkhini (P. G. S.) I, p. 12.

19. Bee (the preserver) Na khāi na dei chanci rakhithāi madhumāchi prāya hoi (Without eating, without giving to others the mother preserves everything like bees for her child. — Govinda candra — P.G.S., p. 37.

(d) Reptiles :

20. Snake's basket (mother-in-law's house) Sāpa pedāre mudi hoi rahili — (I was confined to the snake's basket) P.G.S., Palli As'ru, p. 2.

21. Snake (Witch) Mohari dhanaku se daṃśiṇa delā. (She stung my wealth to death.) P. G. S. I—Sunā candramāku mo kāla daṃśila, p. 11.

22. Snake (The Devil) Sunā candramāku mo kāla daṃśilā. (The Devil stung my golden moon) Ibid.

23. Snake (bride) Kālasarpa bolilo dākanti mote (She renames me a vile serpent) P. G. S. I, Palli Aśru, p. 1.

24. Snake (tail) Nāga sāpa bāgir lenj tekiche (He has raised the tail as a cobra) P. G. S. II, Dhaga Rāmāyaṇa, p. 147.

25. Crocodile (Worldly life) Kumbhira piṭhire bharasā bāndhichu sindhu pāra hebā pāī. (You rely upon the crocodile's back to cross the ocean) Govinda candra— P. G. S. I, p. 37.

III. Plant Kingdom :

(a) Trees :

26. The basil plant (The virtuous) Deḍhaśura thile tulasi bṛkṣa se khanḍe duru āḍa hele. (The brother-inlaw, a tulsi plant, gave room for me to pass.) —Cautā caḍhāi nele—U. G. G., p. 5.

27. The coconut plant in between the mango tree and śimba creeper (a helpless bride) —Āmba latikāku śimba latikalo naḍia laṭikā malā. —The coconut plant dies in between the mango tree and the simba creeper — Cautā caḍhāi nele — U.G.G., p. 4.

28. Tree (shelter) Uḍantā māchiprāya uḍuchi muhī / Bṛkṣa to nāī māchi basiba kāhī—(I am flying about just as a fly. There is not a plant for it to take shelter on) Duhkhini—P. G. S. I. p. 12.

29. Juicy branch (breast) Aḍhei baraṣa helure kumara thana bhāṇgi kshira deli. (I fed you the juice from (the branch of) my breast till you became two and half years old.) Covinda candra, P. G. S. I, p. 33.

(b) Fruits :

30. Green fruit (sinner) and the ripe fruit (the righteous) Bāchineba Kañcā rakhiba pācilā debare dāruṇa duhkha. —He (Death) will choose the green, leaving the ripe, and will inflict severe pain—Govinda candra, P. G. S., I, p. 27.

31. Tender cucumber (girl mate) Ahā kaṣi kākuḍi mūta jāuchi chaḍi (O my tender cucumber (girl mate), I bid you farewell)—Jemā melāṇi—U. G. G., p. 8.

32. Pomegranate (the beautiful) and Mahākāla fruit (Something beautiful but lacking good qualities) Dekhante dālimba khāānte pitāre jāti mahākāla phala. — The mahākāla fruit is as beautiful as pomegranate to look at but bitter to taste. —Govinda candra, P. G. S. I, p. 29.

Leaves :

33. Banana leaf (some one trembling) Kadel patar bāgir jentā ḍare mare tharuche. (He was trembling out of fear just as the banana-leaf.) —Dhaga Rāmāyaṇa, P. G. S. II, p. 153.

34. Rotten leaf (undesirable person) Pāṇire patara pace ki na pace se pāṇi gandhāe bhuī / mū male bau kāndibu nāilo rāhābuḍa debu jāi. (The moment the leaf gets rotten in water, the ground is suffocated with its foul smell / When I die, O mother, you must not weep, but perform the funeral rites.) —Rāhābuḍa debu pahaḍe kāndibu—P. G. S. II, p. 80. 15.

Flowers :

35. Campak (fair complexion) Jehne campādeha kanaka gori. (Her body is like the champak and she is as beautiful as gold) — Bahuta dinare dekhili sakhi — P. G S. II, p. 71.

37. Lotus (God's foot) Tāṅka pāda padmare kara dhyāye (Concentrate on His lotus feet.) Haṃsa haṃsuli — P. G. S. I, p. 67. 1. 17.
Similarly the lotus is compared to a chaste lady (Vide--Govinda candra, P. G. S. I, p. 32).

36. Lotus (God's face) Dayā nakale mote e padma mukha. (The lotus faced one did not have mercy on me) — Rāṇiṅka Śoka — P. G. S. I, p. 45.

38. Campak bud (girl mate) Ahā campā baula tume āmari mela, (Alas Campa baula you, are my mate.) — Jemā melāṇi – U. G. G., p. 8.

39. Flower (milk) Dudha bhāra mana phuṭi paduachi ghara bhitaraku nia — The full brimmed milk vessels (of the

carrier) burst forth just as flowers — Gurastha suhāgi — U. G. G., p. 23.

40. Red *salmali* flower (worldly life) Raṅga simulire ki dekhi bhuluchu phuṭile uḍiba tulā (What do you find in the red *simuli* flower ? The fibre will be floating in the air when it is full blossomed.) — Govinda Candra — P G S. I. p. 38.

41. A cone of the banana (chignon) Bhanḍi lo kaḍhi prāye to munḍa joḍā. (Your chignon is just as a cone of the banana.) — Tuma āśāre dina sariba mora—P.G.S. I, p. 22.

IV. Rocks, Stones and metals :

42, Mountain (huge body) and the cave (enemy's mouth) Parbat bāgir deha diśuche mukhe uṭhuche kuhulā (The body looks just like a mountain and smoke comes out of the mouth,) — Dhaga Rāmāyaṇa — P.G S. II, p. 102.

43. Cave (enemy's ear) Kāna duitā dekhlā jentā parbata khola bhitarke. (When he saw the ears it seemed as if he is peeping into the caves of a mountain) — Ibid. p. 103.

44. Mountain range (uncared for hair) Munḍaje karithai parbata māla (My hair turned into a mountain range) — Kathāe Kahibi Prabhu Śunibaṭiki — P. G. S. II, p. 77, I. 12.

45. Hillock (enemy's belly) peṭa jentā dunguri. (The belly was as if a hillock.) — Dhaga Rāmāyaṇa — P. G. S. II, p 103.

46. Gem (son) Boile re dhana kumara maṇi. (She said, 'O my son, my gem'.) — Biśikeśana — P.G.S. II, p. 58.

47. Gem (good qualities) Suḍhala sundara Rāma aṭe guṇa maṇi. (The beautiful and well-built Rāma is the abode of gem-like virtues.) — Sitābibhā, P.G.S. I, p. 13.

48. Brass and iron (unchaste woman) pitala saṅge kāhī sunā / Luhā saṅge kaṃsā ginā (Compare the brass metal with gold and iron with brass cup ?) — Dhaga Rāmāyaṇa P G S. II, p. 109.

49. Burning coke (eye) Niā munḍā parilo śāśuṅka ākhi.

(Mother-in-law's eyes are just as burning cokes) — Palli aśru — P G.S I. p. 1.

50. Fire (sorrow) Mātā°sinā jāṇe putrara bedanā hṛda poḍe nirantara. (The son's troubles are best known to the mother whose heart burns every moment) — Govinda Candra — P.G.S. I. p. 27.

51. Fire (anger) Tāhā suṇikari rājāra kumara kope prajwalita hele. (The prince burnt with anger to hear that) — Ibid. p. 30.

52. Wind (movement) Pabana pari dhana jāānti cāli (My husband proceeds , like the wind.) — Bideśa Yātrā — P. G. S. I. p. 49.

53. Thunder (toughness) Kāca bajara heba asichi māgi (Let the bangle turn to thunderbolt. That is what I have come to ask for.) — Antima bidāya — P.G.S. I. p. 51.

V. Comparatum obtained from ocean and river :

54. Ocean (life) Kumbhira piṭhīre bharasā bāndhichu sindhu pāra hebā pāī (You are depending upon the crocodile's back to cross the ocean) — Govinda Candra — P.G.S. I, p. 37.

55. Sea-roar (War cry) Samudar bāgir garji āele. (They came roaring like the sea) Dhaga Rāmāyaṇa. P. G. S. II, p. 152.

56. Floating (helpessness) E parā jhiaku bhasāidela. (You floated away a daughter of this sort). Bāpāhe — U. G. G., p. 17.

57. Boat (bride) Jāṇi Jāṇi durā deśe melideucha. (Knowingly you are floating me away to a distant land) — Jemā melāṇi — U.G.G. p. 6.

58. Floating bark (bride) Māmu maulā māi / Mote dela bhasāi / Melidela sindhu kula sagare nei (O My uncle and aunt / you have floated me away / you have floated me in the ocean.) — Jemā melāni — U.G.G., p. 6.

59. Floating bark (bride) Bābu candāla se eḍe caṇḍāla je dura

deśe melidelā (My father is such a *candāla* that he floated me away to a distant land,) Cautā caḍhāi nele — U.G.G., p. 4.

B. Comparatum obtained from day to day life :

60. Wealth (son, education) E pānca baraṣa purilā re dhana bidyā dhana paḍhāili (O my wealth, when you completed five years I gave you the wealth of education.) Govinda Candra — P.G.S. I, p 31.

61, Wealth (Wife) Śiba puji pāithili re dhana, (I got you, my wealth, by worshipping Śiva.) —Bideśi cintai basi. —P. G. S. II, p. 70, 1. 7.

62. Treasure (Wife) Jubati ratana aṭu re rāmā. (O my youthful darling, you are a treasure) — Bahuta dinare dekhili sakhi. —P. G. S. II, p. 71.

63. Wealth (husband) Ajita daśaharā parāṇa dhana. (O my life's treasue, to-day is Daśaharā, a day of festivity.) —Mā o stree—P. G. S. I, p. 50.

64. Treasure (Piousness) Cori karināhī nāri kari nāhī Dharma thila māla mora. (Neither have I stolen nor lost chastity, piousness was my treasure.) —Govinda Candra —P. G. S. I, p. 31.

65. Pearl (tears) Mukutā taruṇi luha buhe jhara jhara. (Pearl like tears of the young lady were streaming down.) —Sitāṅka ayodhyā bije—U. G. G., p. 33. 13.

66. Rupee (happiness) Lakṣe taṅkā hajithilā pailiki muhī (As if I found one lakh of rupees which was lost) —Koili duta—U. G. G., p. 14.

67. Pillar of stone (chest) Chāti karichi mora pathara khamba. (I have made my chest a pillar of stone) — Palli Aśru -- P. G. S. I, p. 2.

68. Cart (unchaste woman) and palanquin (virtuous lady) —Asureṇ saṅge samān kali gāḍir saṅge pālki. (I have made her one with the demoness, the palanquin with the cart.) —Dhaga Rāmāyaṇa P. G. S. II, p. 119.

69. Conch (virtuous lady) and ḍhapadā (lowly woman) (Leaving the conch and clarion aside, I started beating the *dhapada*) (a country drum)—Ibid, p. 111.

70. Torch (virtuous lady and lamp (unchaste woman)— Dihudi pāśe batike—Place the lamp beside the torch ? —Ibid, p. 111. (Similarly an unchaste woman is compared to a drum and cotton rag where as the virtuous to a clarion or silk—Ibid, p. 111.)

71. The content of a palm leaf manuscript (great affection ironically) Jaṇa jaṇaṅka sneha khanḍie pothi—Each one's affection is the content of a *pothi.* —Palli Aśru —P. G. S. I, p. 1.

72. Lamp (life) Gharu jetebele dipa livijiba hoiba andhāramaya.—(When the lamp is put out, the house (body) becomes dark) —Govinda Gandra—P. G. S. I, p. 38.

73. Podapiṭhā (unworthy husband) and āraśā (worthy husband) —(Why should you bake *podapitha*) (burnt cake) ? I shall prepare *āraṣā* (a kind of delicious cake) for you—Dhaga Rāmāyaṇa—P. G· S. II, p. 111.

74. Skimmer (helper) Muī ache / caṭu āur tui kaeje pudbu ? - (While I am there, the skimmer, why should you get burnt ?) —Ibid, p. 96.

75. Noose (worldly attachment) Kāhīpāī mote bibhā karāilu gale lagailu phāśa ? (Why did you marry me and thus put a noose around my neck ?) —Govinda Candra— P. G. S. I, p. 38.

76. Sandal paste (Sweet words) Pudlā ghānthi candan mitār lāglā tor kathā—(Your words were soothing just like sandal paste to burns)—Dhaga Rāmāyaṇa—P.G.S.II,p.120.

77. Flat stone (idle woman) Basile bolanti cekā pathara eṭā—(When I sit, they call me a flat stone)—Ganjaṇā —U. G. G., p. 18.

C. Comparatum obtained from the realms of religion, myth and legend :

78. Goddess (mother) Kumara boilā janani dei. (The son said, 'O mother, my goddess'.) —Biśikeśhana—P. G. S. II, p. 62.

79 Devil's tooth (terrible enemy) Nuhê mākar jamar dānt laṅkā purke aelā (Not a monkey, but the devil's tooth has come to Lankā.) —Dhaga Rāmāyaṇa—P G S II, p. 123.

80. Temple (heap of rice) Bolanti deula prāye basilā mādi —(They criticise that she partakes of rice in a heap like a temple) —Ganjaṇā, U G. G., p. 18.

81. Temple (home) Tunikā rupare nāri thilāṭi mandire— (The lady was living quietly in the temple like home.) 'Sati'—U. G. G., p. 19.

82. Srikriṣṇa (Parents) Mo bau nanāku kahi māna udhāribu (—Tell my parents, who will keep my prestige (as Srikriṣṇa did).) —Koiliduta—U. G. G., p. 12.

83. Bhima (the valiant : Rāvan) Bhimar hāte cāṇṭi. (The ant in the hands of Bhima.) —Dhaga Rāmāyaṇa—P. G. S. II. p 129.

84. Laxmi the ignoble (bride) Nā je deichanti e hata lakhi. (He has renamed me Laxmi the ignoble.) Palli Aśru—P. G. S. I, p. 1.

85. Mantharā (sister-in-law) Bhāita āmara candra badana bhāuja manthanakāri go. (Our brother is the moon-faced one but the sister-in-law is a Mantharā.)—Phula baula beṇi—P. G. S. II, p. 81.

86. Śiva and pārvati (son-in-law and daughter) Hara Gauri pari diśe sundara. (They look as beautiful as Śiva and Pārvati) - Tuma āśāre dina sariba mora—P. G. S. I, p. 24.

87. Rohiṇi and śaśi (daughter and son-in-law) Rohini sangate muje milāibi śaśi—(I shall unite Rohiṇi (Sitā) with Śaśi (Rāma)) —Sitā bibhā—P. G. S. I, p. 14.

88. Cataka (the optimist) Cātek bāgir Rām nāmke kariche baḍa āśā — I have hope in the name of Rāma as the

cātak (A mythical bird which keeps waiting for rain-drops to quench its thirst) —Dhaga Rāmā yaṇa—p. G. S. II, p. 112.

D. Comparatum obtained from Social life :

89. Thief and master (God) Cora hoikari curāigale gusiā hoi cetāuchu. (Having stolen as a thief you are giving caution like a master.) – Dhaga Rāmāyaṇa, P. G. S. II, p. 96.

90 King and the subject, young and the old, (the superior & the inferior : Rama & Ravan) Kāhī rāja kāhī parajā juān saṅge buḍhā. (Where stands the king and where the subject ; compare the young with the old ?) —Ibid,. p. 96.

91. Queen (A woman with her husband living) Sāta jaṇa ahya rāṇi hoichanti thula (Seven women with their husbands living have gathered together)—Śitā Bibhā – P G. S. I, p. 21.

92. Beggar (The contemptible : Rāma and Laxman) Bhikāri duiṭā rakhi kari kahuche muhī baḍe (Keeping two poor beggars she boasts of being great) —Dhaga Rāmāyaṇa P. G. S, p. 116.

93. Caṇḍāla (merciless brother) Bhāi *candāla* se ede *candāḷa* je adhābāṭe chāḍigalā—My brother was such a candāla (Member of the lowest class) that he left me on the mid-way. —Cautā caḍāi nele, U. G. G., p. 5.

94. Caṇḍāluṇi (cruel mother) Mātā tu nohilu *Candāluni* helu.—Instead of being my mother you became a *candala*. (member of the lowest class) —Govinda Candra, P. G. S., p. 33. l. 18.

95. Brāhmaṇa (virtuous woman : Sitā) and Hāḍi (Ignoble woman : demoness) Kāhī *Brāhmaṇa* kāhī *Hāḍi*—Where stands the Brahman and where the Hādi (member of the lowest class)—Dhaga Rāmāyaṇa, P. G. S. II, p. 111.

96. Making a vow not to kill having killed already and

beheading one in front of one's enemy (Marrying a girl to unsuitable conditions by the father) Āge māri pache niyama kala/Bhagāri Chāmure muṇḍa kāṭila (After having killed me, now you are making a vow not to kill. You beheaded me in front of the enemy) – Bāpāhe, U. G. G., p. 17.

97. Cutting a tree at its roots while sprinkling water on its leaves (Advising the son to renounce the world and be an ascetic) – You cut the tree at its roots and sprinkled water on leaves. —Govind Candra, P. G. S. I, p. 33.

98. The barren producing a child (unexpected gain) Bānjhen māe jhi janam karbā (The barren giving birth to a daughter.) —Dhaga Rāmāyaṇa, P. G. S. p 114.

99. The blind getting back eye sight (unexpected gain) Janam andhār āenkh diśilā—(As if all was visible to one blind from birth)—Dhaga Rāmāyaṇa, P. G. S., II, p. 114.

E. Miscellaneous

100. Swallowing worms from the hell (miserable condition) Tuhi janma nohibāru re kumara narkaru khāili poka. (As you did not take birth my son, I was swallowing worms from the hell) —Govinda Candra, P. G. S., I, p. 33.

101. Life's life (wife) Tuhi parā Sitā mora jibara jibana (Sitā, you are my life's life, aren't you ?) Sitābibhā, P. G. S., I, p. 19.

102. Life (daughter) Caudhuri pua bujhāi dina lomo jibana/ Boilā bohuku āṇa. (Having fixed the date, O my life, Caudhury's son said, 'Now bring the bride.') —Mo Jibana, U. G. G., p. 2.

VII. FOLK-BALLADS IN OLD ORIYA EPICS

A Case Study In Sāralā Mahābhārata

The Sanskrit epic 'Mahābhārata' of Vyāsa, which is supposed to have taken its fullest shape 'before the beginning of our era,' has gained immense popularity over the centuries. Several regional versions of it are found all over India. But the regional versions are not always accurate translations of the Sanskrit text. They deviate from the original in several ways, especially in that they contain incidents and episodes which are entirely absent from the original epic. The Sāralā Mahābhārata of Sāralā Dās, a 'Sudra' poet of the 15th century Orissa, provides an interesting study in this context.

The Sāralā Mahābhārata is, so to say, an Orissan version of the Sanskrit epic. Here Orissa has been depicted as the stage of the great drama of the Mahābhārata. The principal characters in their dress, habits and manners bear Orissan traits. The functions and festivals are characteristically Orissan. Folk-customs, belief and folk-gods abound in the epic. Even the marching of Armies described in Sāralā's work have now been indentified, by historical research, to that of king Kapilendra Deva of Puri (Panigrahi, K. C., 1975, p20), whom the poet refers to in his epic. As such, the Sāralā Mahābhārata is regarded as a social encyclopaedia of Orissa of those days. Naturally it contains a bulk of popular stories which are entirely absent from Vyāsa's Mahābhārata. Of course some of these stories appear in other regional versions of the Mahābhārata as well. But a large portion of it is exclusive to the Oriya epic. These additional stories are the subject of our study. I have sorted out some such stories with the help of 'Sri Bhārata Darpana' by Pandit Gopināth Nanda Sarmā and 'Sāralā Dāsa' by K. C. Pānigrāhi.

The numerous additional stories, naturally, raise a question of their origin. Both Pandit Nanda Sarmā and Dr. Pānigrāhi aptly point out how some such stories have 'been borrowed from several Sanskrit 'purānas' in which the poet seems to

be well-versed. Pānigrāhi further reveals how the poet has picked up incidents from society of his time and rendered them into lively stories. Both the scholars believe some stories to be imaginary though neither of them has given due consideration to oral tradition which the poet freely made use of.

Prior to the availability of any Oriya version of the Sanskrit epic. there was occasion for the spread of folk-tales and ballads centring upon the stories of that epic. The village-folk were listening to the Sanskrit Mahābhārata as read out and explained to them by the pundits. Under such circumstances the basic stories could have undergone change through oral transmission giving scope to the rise of folk-versions. Such folk-tales and ballads would assume the dignity of basic stories in the course of time. Now that they are included in an epic, they are sure to be well received by the masses. Even pundits cannot persuade people to renounce them. Obviously Sāralā Dās respected the oral tradition and freely made use of the folk-elements confident of their appeal to the masses.

The additional stories in the Sāralā Mahābhārata are not superfluous ; certainly they serve very significant purposes. First of all they fill in the gaps left out by Vyāsa (Subba Rao, T. V , 1976). The point may need a bit of amplification.

Even though epics cover a vast dimension in trying to present a complete picture of the events and characters they deal with, some gaps may be noticed here and there on which questions may be asked. For instance, one may ask why a pious lady like Draupadi was humiliated in the royal court. Certainly such a plight could not have befallen her solely because of her husband's defeat at dice. The folk-tradition provides a suitable answer to that. Draupadi, in her previous birth, was Ketukā, an attendant upon Saraswati. She had then killed all the Brahmās, excepting one, for insulting her mistress. The Brahmā whom she spared was Duhsāsan in this life and it was pre-ordained that she was to kill him through Bhima in this way (Savā parva, II, p 512). The addition of such tales satisfies folk-psychology, helps the epic to fit into place

and at the same time lends it a more complete shape.

The stories play an important role in the construction of the plot lending additional flavour to the subject matter. Sometimes we notice almost a battle of stories in the process of argument among the protagonists. A story is narrated in support of an argument or to oppose one. The argument, then, gathers tremendous force. But in the next moment, the argument is countered by another argument with a similar type of story. The stories are pointed, which make the opponent appear ridiculous. The irony, satire and humour emerging out of the story turn the portion into an exquisite piece of literary work. The argument between Dhrutarāstra and Śakuni may serve as a bright example. Dhrutarāstra was pleading for a reconciliation between the Kauravas and the Pāndavas. But Śakuni wanted war to fulfil his own intentions Śakuni satirised Dhrutarāstra by calling him a tiger-monk of the basil thicket who killed a monkey (Udyoga parva, p 331). Dhrutarāstra contended that Śakuni was now sure to repay the debt to his forefathers by leading the Kauravas to utter ruin. For, his role was just like that of the crane who pretended to be pious with cotton cover to his beak and ultimately feasted on the credulous fish. Such contentions in the epic have added liveliness to the royal court and made the plot still more attractive. We may cite here one more example of satire in a story put into the mouth of Śisupala. A brahmin went astray, left home and posed as an ascetic in a distant land, He pretended to be going without food. But at night he used to enter his host's kitchen and was getting healthier day by day. He was, at last, discovered to his misfortune. According to Śisupala Krishna, the milkman, was cheating the Pāndavas just as that fake ascetic (Savā parva, II, p 339) With reference to the stories of the tiger-monk of the basil thicket and pious crane with cotton cover to his beak, Dr. Panigrahi, however, remarks that two stories similar to the above two, appear in Pancatantra and it seems that Sāralā Dās borrowed them from it but fashioned them in his own way (Panigrahi. K. C., 1975, p 52). It may be more accurate to

explain that the stories of Pancatantra had taken the above form in folk-tradition in relation to the plot of the Mahābhārata and that Sārālā Dās has simply incorporated them in his epic.

The story 'jhimāni khela' tries even to present a different version to a very fundamental aspect of the Sanskrit Mahābhārata. The proposal of crowning Yudhisthira, according to the Sanskrit story, was the starting point of the great conflict. But in the Sāralā Mahābhārata it is 'jhimāni, a country game, in which there is a trial of strength between two contesting parties that marks the beginning (Adiparva. p 433). A poet cannot change such a well known, basic story at the risk of disapproval of the mass. On the otherhand it pre-supposes a popular version of the same story current in the poet's society which he made use of. Here the princes of a royal household have been brought down to the level of country youngmen. This clearly suggests the working of folk-mind.

Stories are commonly used to impart moral teachings. It is difficult to introduce abstract ideas to common men. Stories bring these ideas to life through illustrations. The addtional stories in the Sāralā Mahābhārata very often serve the same purpose. They plead for unswerving faith in God. Draupadi, even when she was about to be stripped off her clothes, speaks of that unflinching faith. She tells the story of a rabbit who prayed to God and was saved from being trapped between the clutches of a lion and a fox (Sava parva, II, p 488). Similarly the story of the bird 'Tarakshi' speaks of the unbounded grace of God. Her eggs were covered by a huge bell that fell down from the neck of an elephant and remained safe in the battlefield. The story 'Babanā bhuta kathā' advocates respect for the advice of the majority. The story, Srikrishna touching the foot of an ass to fulfil his mission, is equally instructive. We may also, here, include the story of 'Bhāradā' which teaches to honour teachers' wives (Udyoga parva, p 311).

The psychological purpose that the stories serve is noteworthy. Access into female-psychology was a difficult task in ancient times, especially due to the shyness of the fair sex. It is

interesting to note that the folk-conception of the subject was not very far from the truth. The story 'mango of truth' found both in the Oriya and Bengali Mahābhāratas, though with a slight difference, may be considered from this point of view. Draupadi speaks out her mind only when all the Pāndava-brothers have done so. It is again the insistence of others and the fear of a curse which impels her to speak out her mind. Even then, instead of speaking of herself as the men folk do, she speaks of women in general at first. Most hesitatingly she confesses that the moment a woman finds a handsome. strong and stout man, she is attracted by him, be he a brother or a son. Draupadi, then, admits of her partiality to Arjuna for his valour though she is married to the five brothers (Vide p 27). Thus, both in its content and presentation, the story reveals deep psychological insight.

Some stories reveal exquisite poetic fancies. Dr. Panigrahi gives, for an example, the story of Duryodhana swimming across the river of blood of the battle field where he unknowingly uses the corpse of his own son Laxmankumar to support him as a raft. Dr. Panigrahi, however, believes it to be a creation of Sāralā Dās himself (Panigrahi, K. C. 1975, p 56). Such stories may be attributed to the folk-tradition as well.

A short and simple folk-tale may very well illustrate a complicated political principle. The story of four wild friends, the lion, tiger, fox and mongoose serves as a pivot on which the political principles of Duryodhana, against the Pāndavas, is based. The four friends kill a deer jointly. But the fox plans to deprive others of their share. He proposes that all of them should have a bath and purify themselves before eating. He himself guards the kill. As the lion returns after his bath, the fox tells him that the tiger has already tasted the meat. The lion leaves the place in disgust. As the tiger returns after his bath the fox tells him that the lion is angry. The tiger leaves the place out of fear. At last when the mongoose returns, the fox pounces on him as the latter flees for life. In the same way Duryodhana was planning to deprive the Pāndavas of their fair share, not by war but by tricks.

The story may be regarded as a folk-approach to the political principles of the Kauravas.

Though the additional stories are varied as regards their theme and tell tales of human beings, animals, gods, demons and the like, the same types of stories are found in other Indian classics and their regional versions too. They are based on Indian culture, customs and beliefs. Yet some of these additional stories clearly reflect the Orissan cultural milieu. The story 'Deula Tolā' is a glaring example.

The story 'Deula Tolā' or the construction of the temple of Lord Jagannāth speaks of the happy fusion of the Aryan culture and that of the aborigines. The god Nilamādhaba or Krishna worshipped by the Śavara king, Jārā, is secured by king Indradyumna and installed in a temple at Puri. The story tells how the huge piece of wood for construction of the image of Jagannāth could be carried only when Visvavasu, the Brahmin and Jara, the Savara, joined hands It also tells how the idol remained incomplete and how both the Brahmins and Savaras were engaged in temple service.

The time when Sāralā Dās lived was a period of decadence for the 'Sahajia cult'. The followers of this cult were highly promiscuous. The Sāralā Mahābhārata presents a vivid picture of the life led by them. Krishan, here, has emulated Sahajia characteristics He is involved in horrific sex activities. He is even united with a very old lady, Saraha Sundari, as narrated in the story of the birth of the burglar. Surendra Mahanty believes that the story is Sāralā's own creation According to him the poet moulded Krishna in that way in order to direct the attention of the contemporary society to the Sahajia cult with a view to rectifying it (Mahanty, S. 1977, p 43). But it would be unbecoming of Sāralā Dās to distort the image of Krishna, one of the prime characters of this epic, causing serious deviation from the original text. He could have achieved his goal otherwise. We may better explain that the followers of the Sahajia cult found their affinity to Krishna and modified the stories of the Mahābhārata to suit to themselves. Mr.

Mahanty comes almost to the same conclusion when he observes that the 'Sahajia Tantrics' made use of the names and sayings of great men as well as holy books to provide a religious basis to this act of immorality. In fact, the stories contain some quite relishing elements to fascinate the people and spread amongst them. As such, the possibility cannot be ruled out that Sāralā Dās collected them from folk-tradition.

Some stories while reflecting Indian as well as Orissan culture, bear testimony to certain old social stigmas too. The story 'Suhani kanyā bibāha' speaks of the marriage of old men to young brides. Judhisthira is found, in his old age, to be marrying a teen ager girl at Jajpur. The story 'Kokua bhaya' or the fear from the 'Kokua', an immense, flying, carnivorous creature which Krishna fabricated to destroy the Jadu dynasty, indicates the role of rumour in folk-life.

The oral form of the tales and ballads, before inclusion in the epic, is difficult to ascertain. Once embodied in the epic, they conform to the epic mode of narration. Yet some salient features of ballads, such as abrupt beginning, rapid narration, elimination of details, simple repetition, dialogues and abrupt ending are suggestive of their previous ballad form. The story of Yudhisthira's marriage to Suhāni kanyā, for instance, bears such ballad-characteristics. The Pandavas meet Suhāni kanyā, accidentally, on their way to the Himalayas. The father, Hari Sahu, is worried because the girl is fifteen and as yet is unmarried. She is fated to die at the time of marriage. Arjuna defeats the messengers of Yama, the death god, and even ties the death god himself to a mountain. The marriage ceremony is smoothly performed. The elements, in this story, which do not conform to the ballad-traits are a prolonged prayer of Hari Sahu to Yama to save his girl and Yama's advice to Hari Sahu regarding honesty in business. A folk-ballad might have taken such a form when included in the epic.

A prolonged story, Deula Tolā or the construction of the temple, on the other hand, pre-supposes a ballad cycle. The story covers almost six chapters in the 'Musali Parva' and consists of

several side-plots. Such stories narrate king Gālamādhava's search for Nilamādhava, the image of Krishna worshipped by Jārā Savara, and the tricks of a brahmin, Basudeva, to secure the image. They also tell of the floating of Krishna's dead body by Arjuna and the subsequent appearance of a block of wood by the sea shore, the construction of the images by a strange carpenter and the incident which resulted in the unfinished state of the images. The stories of Mārakanda Brahmā, Gomukhi Hara and Balarāma restoring the life of Basudeva's son, have been included in this long narrative. From this, one may presume that a ballad cycle had grown up centring upon the temple of Lord Jagannāth which Sāralā Dās included in his epic. These stories might have been prevalent in the form of folk-tales as well. Thus, in the Sāralā Mahābhārata though we do not get the folk-tales and ballads as in their oral form, at least we get glimpses of them and have to be contented with their theme only. With the popularity of the Mahābhārata, the folk-origin of stories has been forgotten.

The stories, under discussion, have now been collected from oral sources too (Das, K. B. 1977). As the stories of the Sāralā Mahābhārata are widely known, there is nothing to be surprised about if the stories collected from the oral sources were found identical to those of the Sāralā Mabābhārata. Yet the stories show certain differences. The story of the giant ghost may be considered from this point of view. In the folk-tale the ghosts are trapped by a barber with the help of his mirror and the giantghost by his wife, but in the epic it is a peasant who traps the ghosts with his net. The former speaks of a *Brahma rakshas* and it is omitted in the latter. But in both cases the giant ghost is trapped only because he does not respect the counsel of the majority. The differences between the stories as found in the epic and oral tradition may be due to the prevalence of different versions of the same story or transformation of the folk-tales through oral transmission since their inclusion in the epic

In this way Sāralā Dās has lent epic dignity to numerous folk-tales and ballads and has well-fitted them to his epic to serve his own purpose No doubt, the epic would have been poorer

without them. As stated earlier, the same observations may be true, though in varying degrees, in case of other regional versions of the Mahābhārata too. This phenomenon in Indian literature, around the 15th century, might be hinting at an upsurge of the people speaking different regional languages, which prompted them to search for self identity as is the tendency in recent times.

3

THE STRUCTURE

I. A SYNTAGMATIC ANALYSIS

There are two clear trends in the study of structure in folklore, one postulated by Levi-Strauss (1955) and the other by V. Propp (1928). Levi-Strauss, through his method (paradigmatic analysis), tries to find the meaning of myths where as Propp is concerned with the form of folk-tales. Propp's method (syntagmatic analysis) placed folk-tale studies on a sound scientific ground as that of Levi-Strauss in the case of myth. Propp has analysed some hundred of Russian fairy tales and has prepared a scheme for study of such tales. Our present purpose is to apply his scheme to Oriya folk-ballads

The structuralists believe in the study of a whole in relation to its parts. They also study how the parts are related to each other. The parts are the minimal units which Propp calls 'functions'

To Propp, any scientific study of folklore material must be based on its constant minimal units. Prior to him, motifs were regarded as the units of folk-tales. The difficulty in it was that both characters and their actions could form motifs of a tale. Propp pointed out that only the constant elements in a folk-tale should be taken as its constituent units. The characters are not constant for one particular act can be performed by various characters of a tale. For instance, if a pair of magic sandals are to be supplied to the hero, it can be done by a hermit, a fairy, the gardener's wife or others. But the act 'transportation of the hero' remains constant. Hence, to him, functions and not characters are the constant elements of a tale. He has discovered 31 basic functions in Russian fairy tales. Each function is represented by a symbol as shown below :

O. The initial situation (x), I. One of the members of a family absents himself from home (Absentation : b), II.

An interdiction is addressed to the hero (Inter diction : y), III. The interdiction is violated ,(violation : d) IV. The villain makes an attempt at reconaissance (Reconaissance : e), V. The villain receives information about his victim (Delivery : f), VI. The villain attempts to deceive his victim in order to take possession of him or his belongings (Trickery : n), VII The victim submits to deception and thereby unwillingly helps his enemy (complicity : z), VIII. The villain causes harm or injury to a member of a family (Villainy : A), IX. Misfortune or lack is made known : he is allowed to go or he is dispatched (mediation, the connective incident : B), X. The seeker agrees to or decides upon counter action (Beginning counter action : C), XI. The hero leaves home (Departure : ↑), XII. The hero is tested, interrogated, attacked, etc, which prepares the way for his receiving either a magical agent or helper : (The first function of the donor : D), XIII. The hero reacts to the actions of the future donor (The hero's reaction : E), XIV. The hero acquires the use of a magical agent (Provision or receipt of a magical agent : F), XV. The hero is transferred, delivered or led to the where abouts of an object of search (Spatial transference between two kingdoms, guidance : G), XVI. The hero and the villain join in direct combat (Struggle : H). XVII. The hero is branded (Branding, marking : J), XVIII The villain is defeated (Victory : I). XIX. The initial misfortune or lack is liquidated (Lack liquidated : K), XX. The hero returns (Return : ↓), XXI. The hero is pursued (Pursuit : Pr), XXII. Rescue of the hero from pursuit (Rescue : Rs), XXIII. The hero unrecognized, arrives home or in another country (unrecognized arrival : O). XXIV. A false hero presents unfounded claims (Unfounded claim : L), XXV. A difficult task is proposed to the hero (Difficult task : M), XXVI. The task is resolved (Solution : N), XXVII. The hero is recognized (Recognition : Q), XXVIII. The false hero or villain is exposed (Exposure : Ex). XXIX. The here is given a new appearance (Transfiguration : T), XXX The villain is punished (Punishment : U), XXXI. The hero is married and ascends the throne (Wedding : W).

Each function is represented by a symbol as absentation from home by (b) and interdiction by, (y). Every function may, again, have subordinate functions represented by corresponding symbols. For instance, the function lack (a) is sub-divided into the following : lack of a bride (a^1), lack of magical agent (a^2) lack of wonderous objects without magic power (a^3), lack of love (a^4), lack of money or means of existence (a^5) and lack of other forms (a^6). Each function is represented by a column along with its subordinate functions.

All the thirty one functions arranged serially in columns give a figurative representation of the functions as shown by him in his model. The model represents the archetype of the Russian fairy tales and, to him, the fairy tales now available are but some distorted forms of the same The functions are thus given and anybody trying to analyse a folk-tale collected by him, can do it with this given scheme Further, according to him, the functions appear chronologically in a tale. Hence changes, if any, in a tale are to be subjected to analysis. Propp also speaks of moves (xod) in a tale, the moves being the separate phases joined together in a tale. Generally the move-combinations are (1) a — K with usual affixes such as x, b, y, d, e, f. n, z and (2) Pr — U with usual suffixes such as Rs, O, L, M, N, Q, Ex, T and W.

Critics have pointed out some short-comings of Propp's methodology. Levi-Strauss shows how his theory of the fundamental tale in two waves collapses and with it 'the weak hope of beginning a morphological classification' (Levi-Strauss, 1977, p 134). Besides other charges he is serious about 'some sesidual material to which no function corresponds' (Levi-Strauss. 1977, p 122). Bertel Nathhorst is equally discontented with it when he observes, 'Propp has excluded dramatis personae from the analysis only to smuggle them in by the back door' (Nathhorst, 1970, p 22) and also 'For the principle that no attention must be paid to dramatis personae means that a lot of information is excluded from the analysis (Nathhorst, 1970, p 20) Inspite of all these attacks, the theory postulated by Propp is widely accepted. It is as Levi-Strauss observes, 'a great discovery which p eceded by a quarter of a century all the attempts made by others' including

himself 'in the same direction' (Levi-Strauss, 1977, p 144). It is therefore, worthwhile to apply it, in our present study, to Oriya folk-tales though in ballad forms. The ballads we choose for the purpose are Ta'poi (for story see p. 8) and Baulā Gai (see p. 9).

The ballad 'Ta' Poi' is very popular in Orissa. It is also current in the form of a folk-tale. The functions of the ballad are as follows :

x (Initial situation) —Ta' Poi' lives happily with her parents, brothers and sisters-in law.

n^1 —The old brahmin widow persuades Ta' Poi to insist on securing a gold-moon, to play with, of her parents.

z^1 —Ta' Poi abides by the old widow's persuation.

$b^{2,3}$ —Ta' Poi's parents died and her brothers went out on trade.

a^6 —Ta' Poi lacks a goat (which is lost).

B^2 —Ta' Poi is dispatched directly to find out the goat.

↑ —Ta' Poi leaves home.

D —Goddess Khudurukuni favours Ta' Poi.

K —The goat is found ; Ta' Poi's brothers return.

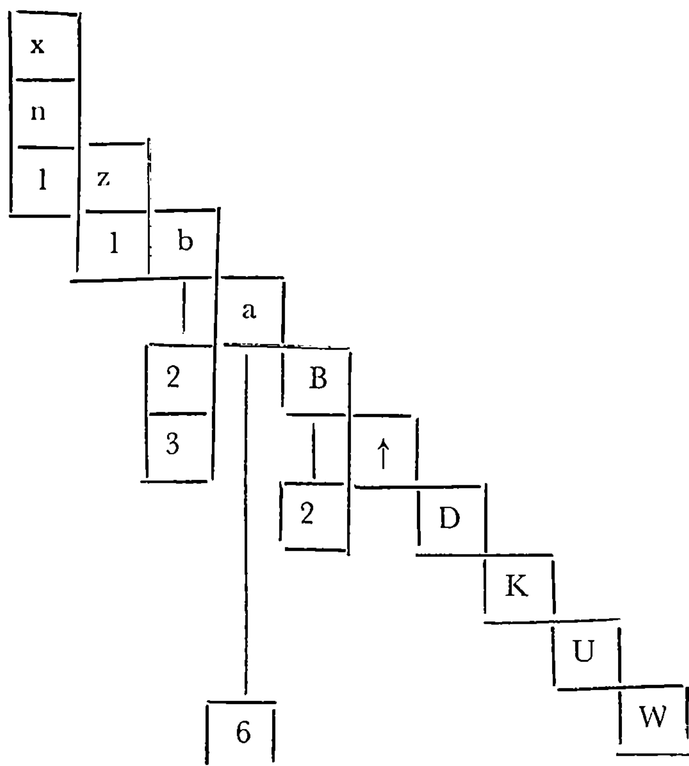
U —Noses of the sisters-in-law are chopped off.

W —Ta' Poi marries Ratnakar, a rich merchant's son.

To sum up, symbolically, the functions of this ballad are x n^1 z^1 $b^{2,3}$ a^6 B^2 ↑ D K U W which can be represented by a diagram (see p 118).

Although it is an one-wave story of a—W type, several functions of it donot verywell conform to those listed by Propp. The villain of the story, the old widow, for example, does not deceive the heroine in order to take possession of her or her belongings (Propp, function No. VI : n). She only puts Ta' Poi in trouble. She creates family discord coming in between members of a family, Ta' Poi and her sisters-in-law, —a function not encountered by Propp.

Ta'Poi



The old widow continues her act of villainy through the sisters-in-law, a section of the members of a family. In fact the sisters-in-law continue torturing Ta' Poi after the old widow's departure, who never appears there any more. This is a type of villainy which should be taken note of.

The heroine doesnot agree to the persuation of the villain explicitly (vide z^1). It is only understood from the subsequent actions by Ta' Poi.

The donor, goddess Khudurukuni, doesnot appear before the heroine nor does she test (vide function D) nor supply any magical agent (function F) to her. She only grants her prayers.

Now we take up another ballad "Baulā giā" (For story see

p9) which is comparatively shorter consisting of only 30 verses.
The functions of the ballad are as follows :

x (Initial situation) — Baulā, the cow, lives at Biranci of Kanci kingdom.

a^5 (Lack) —Baulā lacks means of existence.

↑ (Departure) — Baulā goes out to forest to graze.

K (Lack liquidated) —Baulā has grazed to her heart's content.

↓ (Return) Baulā returns home.

Pr^5 (Pursuit) — A tiger tries to devour Baulā.

z^1 (Complicity) —Baulā agrees to all the villain's persuation. (However Baulā delays the act with a request and promises to return there after feeding her calf .)

D (Donor) — God descends upon the tiger's conscience.

Rs^9 (Rescue) —Baulā is saved from an attempt on life.

W^6 (Reward) —The tiger, the villain now transformed, ascends to heaven (rewarded).

To sum up, the functions are x a^5 ↑ K ↓ Pr^5 z^1 D Rs^9 W^6
The functions can be represented by a diagram (see p 120)

Obviously the ballad contains a two-wave story, the waves being

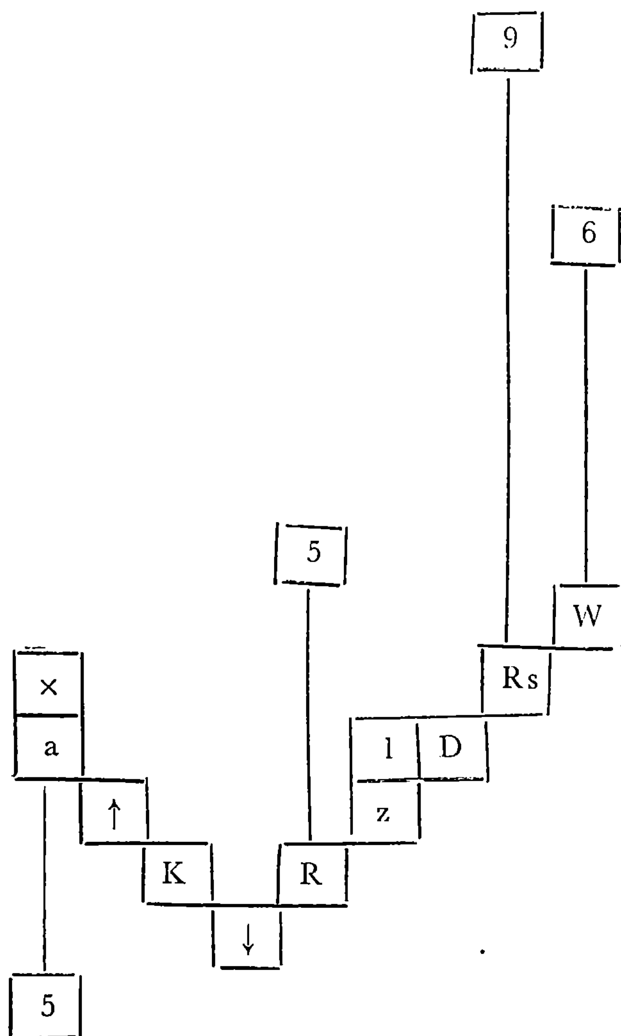
(i) a________K
(ii) Pr__________W.

This being a very short ballad the functions in the first wave are quite limited. Besides the initial situation (x), we have only four functions. Out of these four, again, the first two are not explicit, they are only understood. It is understood that Baulā lacks food for she goes out to graze. Similarly it is also understood that one day she went to the forest to graze for she meets with a tiger while returning from the forest.

The function complicity (z) usually occurs in the first wave of the tale and is regarded as one of the preparatory functions. But here it occurs in the second wave. Similarly the villain does not appear at the preparatory stage nor even in the whole of the

first wave of the story. The reason may be, the plot in the first wave of the story is too weak to accommodate all such functions and, so to speak, the story begins with the appearance of the tiger. There are still some more points to be noted regarding the functions of this tale :

Baulā gāi



The donor (D : God) does not appear before the protagonist in any form. He only takes care of the conscience of the tiger.

Now let us take up the function complicity (x). Although Baulā agrees to all the persuations of the villain (to be devoured by him), she, however, delays the act with a request and promise to return to him after feeding her calf. Such promises (keeping words and honouring the truth) are a very common feature of Indian tales and myths which are absent from Propp's list.

Another peculiar function of this ballad is that it is not the hero but the villain who is rewarded at the end. In folk-tales usually the hero is rewarded and the villain is punished. But here the villain, Tiger, has undergone a change and by virtue of that ascends to heaven. This function also does not very well fit in Propp's list.

The above analyses would show that not only folk-tales but also folk-ballads can be analysed with the help of Propp. However his model should be duly improved upon so as to accommodate variety of functions which donot conform to those found in Russian fairy tales.

Note :

For want of appropriate types the symbol x has been used for the 'initial situation' as done by J. Handoo (See Handoo, 1978, p 64).

II. A PARADIGMATIC ANALYSIS

Myths were a mystery to scholars for generations. To some they were nothing but collective dreams. In other words, they serve the same purpose to a society as dreams to personal life. They were also treated as inventions of folk-mind to justify practice of rituals. To some, again, they were 'outcome of a kind of aesthetic play'. There were interesting contemplations on the characters appearing in myth. Some believed that they were human beings elevated to the status of semi-gods for their superhuman behaviour. Others thought that they were fallen gods. Moreover it was commonly believed that myths lack logic and are never a systematic composition ; they are loose and 'in the course of a myth anything is likely to

happen. There is no logic, no continuity' (Levi-Strauss, 1972, p 208). But Levi-Strauss, the French anthropologist focussed new light into the structure and meaning of myth.

To Levi-Strauss, myths are no idle plays nor are they 'crude philosophical speculations. They are based on reasoning as Science is'. Levi-Strauss widely borrows from the field of Linguistics to postulate his theory. The Linguistic study. proper, could begin when concepts like phoneme and morpheme were well established. These are considered to be constituent units on which linguistic studies are based. Levi-Strauss speaks of such constituent units in myth which he calls 'gross constituent units'. In a study of myth, however, such constituent units are 'not to be found among phoneme, morpheme or sememe. That would reduce the study to a study of language of myth and not the myth itself On the other hand, the gross constituent units of myth are to be traced on sentence level. Such sentences are to be chosen mainly on the following considerations: 'economy of expression, unity of solution; and ability to construct the whole from a fragment, as well as later stages from previous ones'. 'Each constituent unit will consist of a relation' and the 'true constituent units of a myth are not isolated relations but bundles of such relations, and it is only as bundles that these relations can be put to use and combined so as to produce a meaning.' For this, he arranges the methemes by trial and error method, in four columns from top to bottom in a sloping order. The methemes thus arranged reveal a paradigmatic relationship and each pair of columns show a binary opposition where the last column gives the resolution.

There are so many charges levelled agaist Levi Strauss. Alan Dundes calls the structural method 'folkless'. He further comments, 'The idea that myths and other genres of folklore can operate in men's minds without men being aware of the fact is part of a much larger unfortunate tendency in folkloristics' (Dundes 1978, p 185). He also questions the validity of accepting a sentence as the unit of myth—'by using the sentence, a linguistic unit and a fairly vague linguistic unit at that, he

commits what might be called the linguistic fallacy' (Dundes 1964, p 43). Nathhorst feels that the re-arrangement of myth for analysis is unscientific. 'Why is this re-arrangement legitimate and not an arbitrary violation of the material ?' he argues (Nathhorst, 1970, p 43) The questions raised by these critics are pertinent and perhaps no satisfactory answer to these have been obtained from any quarter. However we cannot reject a method outright so long as it works in the field of analysis. It may, therefore, be beneficial to try it in case of Orissan (Indian) folk-myths and see if it works cross culturally.

The myth we choose for our present analysis is Deula Tolā (construction of the temple) which centres round the temple of Lord Jagannāth of Puri. It is being considered in two versions. First we take up the ballad 'Deula Tolā' by Krushna Das (see this work, p 45). The mythemes of this myth have been arranged in the following four columns in a trial and error method :

DEULA TOLĀ

(Krushna Das)

I	II	III	IV
			King Indradyumna sent messengers in search of Lord Bishnu.
		Basus savara's[1] father killed Bāsudeva at one shot.	
	Brahmin Vidyāpati married Basu savara's daughter.		
		Krishna's dead body was floated in the ocean	

I	II	III	IV
			Basu savara led Vidyāpati to the Lord with his eyes bandaged.
God disappeared as Indradyumna boasted of his rare opportunity.			
			Indradyumna seized the savara village.
Indradyumna went to Brahmā to sanctify his temple.			
	King Gālamādhava told a lie claiming the temple to be his.		
The tortoise told the truth.			
		Lord appeared at Bānkimuhān as a block of wood.	
	Basu savara and Vidyāpati (brahmin) could jointly pull the block of wood.		
The idols remained incomplete as the king opened the doors breaking his promise.			
	Both the brahmins and the savaras were employed in temple service.		
Indradyumna begged to be childless lest his progeny should boast of his achievement.			

The mythemes, thus arranged, show how the different parts of the story are related to each other and at the same time how they are related to the whole. But they will be still more meaningful if we analyse the columns.

The usual way of reading is from left to right. But in this arrangement, if we read from left to right, we get the story of the myth, not its meaning. The story as such seems illogical and ludicrous. But if we read the columns from top to bottom one after another, we get the meaning. Thus the approach is two dimensional. Now let us examine the columns which are but 'bundles of relations'. First we have to find out the common feature of each column. If we examine the mythemes of the first column, it will be evident that each of the mythemes overrates Aryan sense of sanctity. For instance, God disappeared even when there was the slightest sense of pride in his devotee. The king didnot prefer any brahmin on earth to sanctify his temple, he went to Brahmā, the creator, for that.

The mythemes of the second column speak of something different, rather the opposite. A savara's daughter is married to a brahmin ; King Gālamādhab tells a lie ; a brahmin and a savara join hands in pulling the block of wood. From this it is clear that each of the mythemes underrates Aryan sense of sanctity. Hence it is the general tendency of the column.

Now we take up the fourth column first for convenience. Here the mythemes directly speak of the Savara origin of the Lord —Lord was being worshipped by the Savara ; the king seized the savara village and so on. Hence column IV asserts the Savara origin of the Lord.

Now we come to the third column. Obviously it contradicts the fourth column. The mythemes speak of Aryan origin of the Lord—The deadbody of Krishna was floated away by Jārā savara and the block of wood came floating in the ocean (Krishna is generally accepted in the myths and tradition as Aryan). Above all, Bāsudeva (Krishna) was killed by a savara. Hence the general feature of the column is denial of Savara origin of the Lord (i.e. asserting Aryan origin)

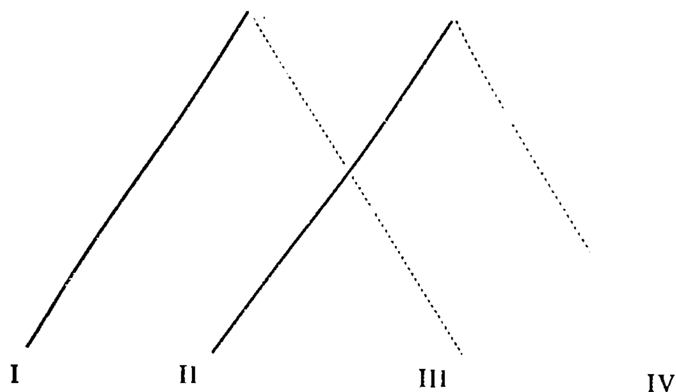
To sum up :

Column I : Overrating Aryan sense of sanctity.
Column II : Underrating Aryan sense of sanctity.
Column III Denial of Savara origin of the Lord.
Column IV : Assertion of Savara origin of the Lord.

This leads us to the following equation :

I : II :: III : IV

which may be read as overrating Aryan sense of sanctity is to underrating Aryan sense of sanctity as denial of Aryan origin of the Lord is to assertion of Savara origin of the Lord. From this it also follows that column I and III bear some affinity as column II and IV. The point may need a bit elaboration. Column I overrates Aryan sense of sanctity which amounts to denial of Savara origin of the Lord (column III). Similarly column II underates Aryan sense of sanctity which implies assertion of Savara origin of the Lord. The relationship can be illustrated by the following figure :



The terms and functions of the myth can be specified as follows :

Terms :

a—The Aryans
b—The Savaras

Functions :

x— Overrating Aryan sense of sanctity
y— Underrating Aryan sense of sanctity.

Hence the above analysis conforms to the formula of Levi-Strauss :

$$fx\ (a) : fy\ (b) = fx\ (b) : fa^{-1}\ (Y)$$

In this symbolic representation, b is the mediator. It has both the functions x and y. In the fourth column the term 'a' has been inverse and function y (Savara origin of the Lord) has gained importance which is the ultimate result of the series of oppositions. To quote Marandas, '... a which is given as a term, becomes once inverted a, a sign of function and y, which is given as a sign of function becomes (Y) i. e. a term which is the outcome of the process (Marandas, 1971, p24). In this way the myth takes into its fold the two contradictory faiths in a culture and gives a resolution that Lord Jagannāth is of Savara origin.

There are different versions of the temple-myth under discussion. One of them is the myth incorporated in the Sāralā Mahābhārata, a 16th century Oriya epic. It is supposed to be the earliest collection of the folk myth then prevalent in the society. Inspite of differences in the mythemes of the two myths, when taken together and analysed, they yield the same result To solve the problem arising out of the variants of a myth, Levi-Strauss prescribes a three-dimensional approach. According to him when a myth is available in variants, the mythemes of each variant are to be arranged in a two-dimensional chart and placed one after another. The columns then can be read in three different ways : left to right, top to bottom and front to back and vice verse (Levi-Strauss, 1972, p217).

The mythemes of the second version of the myth (see this work, p52) is arranged in the following four columns :

BADA DEULA TOLĀ
(Saralā Mahābhārata)

I	II	III	IV
		Jārā savara shot Sri Krishna to death.	
Gods from heaven asked them (Arjun and Jārā) fo forbear.			
			King Gālamādhava sent messengers in search of Krishna.
	Brahmin Basudeva courted friendship with the savara.		
			Jārā savara led Basu-brahmin to the Lord with his eyes bandaged.
Jagannāth cursed Gālamādhab to be childless as he tortured his devotees.			
		Krishna appeared from the under world when the king and the savara were watching at Rohinikunda.	
	Brahmin Basu and Jārā savara easily pulled the bulk of Krishna's body from the pond.		
			Krishna ordered Jārā savara to construct the idols.

I	II	III	IV
The progeny of Jārā savara became the *Daitā*[1] in the temple.			

Now if we examine these columns, it will be evident that each of them is of the same nature as its corresponding column of the first myth. Hence if we correlate the columns accordingly, we get the same binary opposition as in the case of the first myth and also the same resolution i e., the Savara origin of Lord Jagannāth. In this way any number of variants of the myth can be dealtwith.

Scholars have applied Levi-Strauss method to Indian myths earlier (See Handoo, 1978, p50). Here we have analysed a myth in two versions, one available in ballad form and the other incorporated in an epic. Analysis of a considerable number of myths would reveal various contradictions in faith in Orissan as well as Indian culture helping in better understanding of the same.

Notes :

1. *Savaras* are a tribal people still living in the hilly regions of Orissa.
2. *Daitās* believed to be the descendants of Jārā savara are still engaged in the Jagannāth temple service.

CONCLUSION

Ballads play a significant role in the folk-life of Orissa ; they form a sizeable portion of Oriya folk-literature and are varied in subject matter. Though there are traditional ballad-singers called *Nath Yogi*s who usually sing religious ballads, there are other kinds of ballads sung in social events and religious observances. Some parting songs, songs of suffering, death, love and some seasonal songs (bārамāsi) also take the form of ballads. The Oriya folk-ballads broadly fall into the following categories (1) Religious (2) Social and (3) of Myth, History and Tradition. Again the folk-ballads incorporated in old epics like Sāralā Māhābhārata and Dāndi Rāmāyan fall into a separate category.

Folk-ballads are a sort of autobiography of the people. Social ballads very faithfully depict their life where as the religious ballads speak of their faith, hopes and aspirations. The ballads relating to myth, history and tradition also reveal the identity of a people in their own way. The Oriya ballads in general refer to gods and goddesses and uphold the life of sanctity and sacrifice—a spirit very characteristic of the folk even now, in a fast changing society. The ballads donot depict life in a bare state but with the engrossing flora and fauna at the background. The observations made by the folk are sometimes very minute and touch upon such aspects of life and nature which are insignificant to sophisticated eyes.

Artistic aspects of the ballads are noteworthy. The rapid narration, simplicity of style, refrains, simple and incremental repetitions which are universal characteristics of ballads are prominent in these ballads The similes and metaphors are very frequently encountered in them, which speak of the imaginative mind of the folk The comparata are mainly drawn from Nature, day to day life and myths (Purānas). They are simple but attractive befitting the theme and style of the narratives. Though the similes and metaphors, too, bear universal characteristics there are atleast some which are solely based on the cultural milieu of Orissa.

The structural approaches of Levi-strauss and V. Propp are still accepted as modern scientific methods for the study of folk literature. The structuralists study the relationship between the part and whole of a tale or a myth. Besides other functions, the structural approaches thus reveal the artistic peculiarities of a piece of oral composition which would interest a student of literature. The sample studies of Oriya balladswith the help of those methods reveal that while the method of Levi-strauss works well in case of myth (Orissan), the scheme of Propp does not very well accommodate certain 'functions' noted in the ballads dealtwith. Hence it is felt that the latter needs to be duly improved upon taking into consideration such 'functions' of tales (and ballads) of different parts of the world as Stith Thompson did it in case of 'motif'.

New theories and methodologies may crop up everyday and get outdated on the next. But folk-songs remain fresh for ever and no criticism can help a reader to appreciate their beauty unless he goes to the text or performance himself.

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